ANTWERP
1577-1585
GERVAIS WEGG

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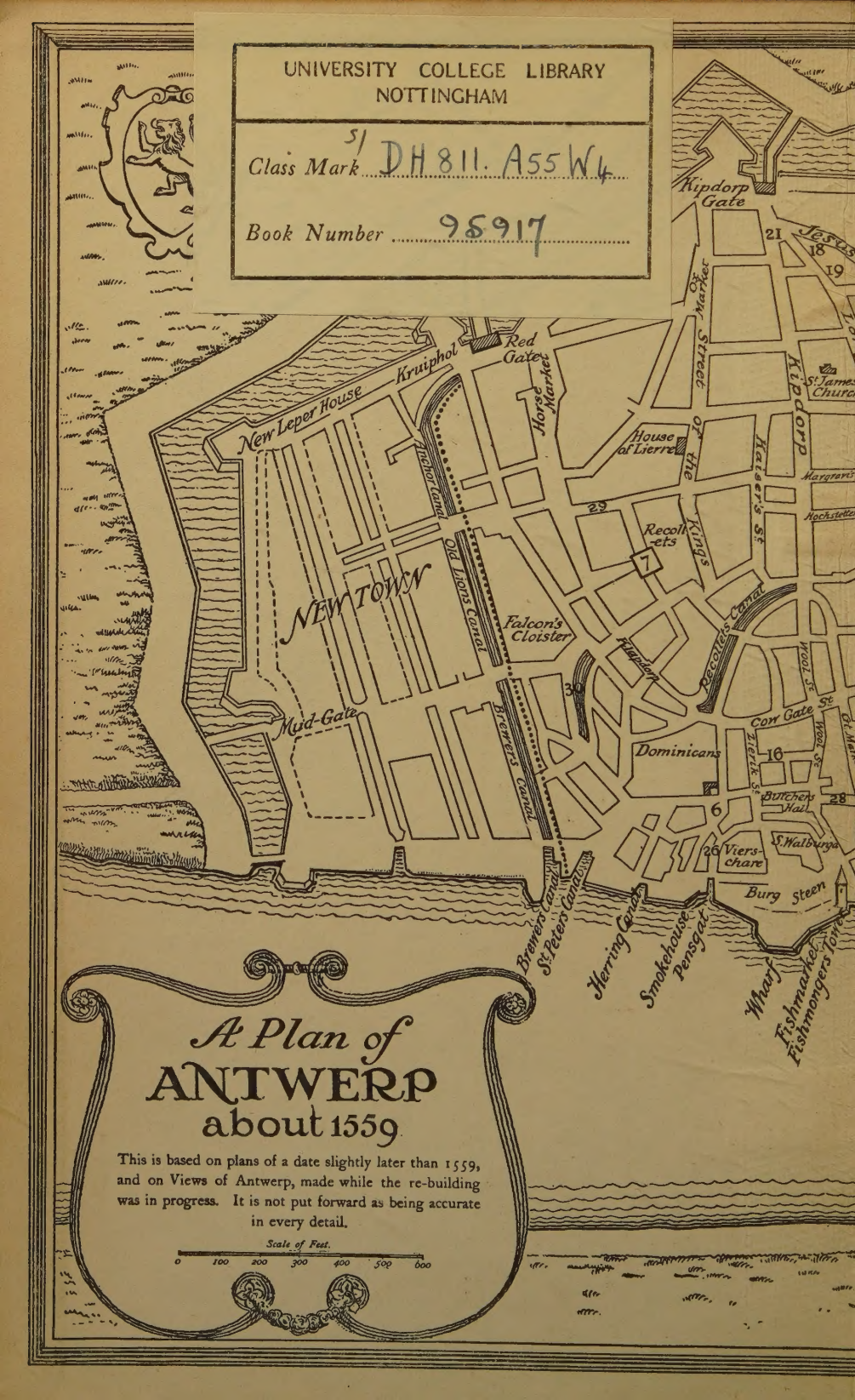

A Plan of ANTWERP about 1559

This is based on plans of a date slightly later than 1559, and on Views of Antwerp, made while the re-building was in progress. It is not put forward as being accurate in every detail.

Scale of Feet.

0 100 200 300 400 500 600

Herenthals Canal
Tanners' Tower
Hopfield
Blue Tower
St Georges or Imperial Gate
To Berchem
Archers Garden
Cross bow mens Garden
The Hospital
Carmelites
Meer Place
The Nuns of the Third Order
St Georges Ch.
Tanners St
Long Hospital St
Short Hospital St
Beguines Street
Brewers St
Egg Market
Shoe Market
Stove Mkt
Old Corn Mkt
Fugger's House
High St.
Pots Cloister
Mint
Oever
Cloister St
Eeckhof
St Michael's Abbey
Sand
Sugar Canal
St Johns Canal
Bakers Tower
Koomenburg Torrer
Flemish Headland
Explanation.
1 Town House & Cloth Hall
2 Church of our Lady
3 Churchyard
4 Milk Market
5 Linen Market
6 Cattle Market
7 New Weigh House
8 St. Catherine's Rampart
9 Lambard's Rampart
10 Stonecutter's Rampart
11 St. Andrew's Ch.
12 New Bourse
13 The Dryhoek
14 Welsers' House
15 Meer Bridge
16 Garden Street
17 Tapestry Pand
18 The Nuns
19 Cellbrothers
20 Friday Market
21 St. James' Market
22 Brewer's Gate Bridge
23 St. Julian's Guesthouse
24 Stove Street, present rue des Etuves
25 Swordsmen's Garden
26 Burg Ditch
27 Boggards
28 Brery Street
29 Venis Street
30 Dyers' Canal

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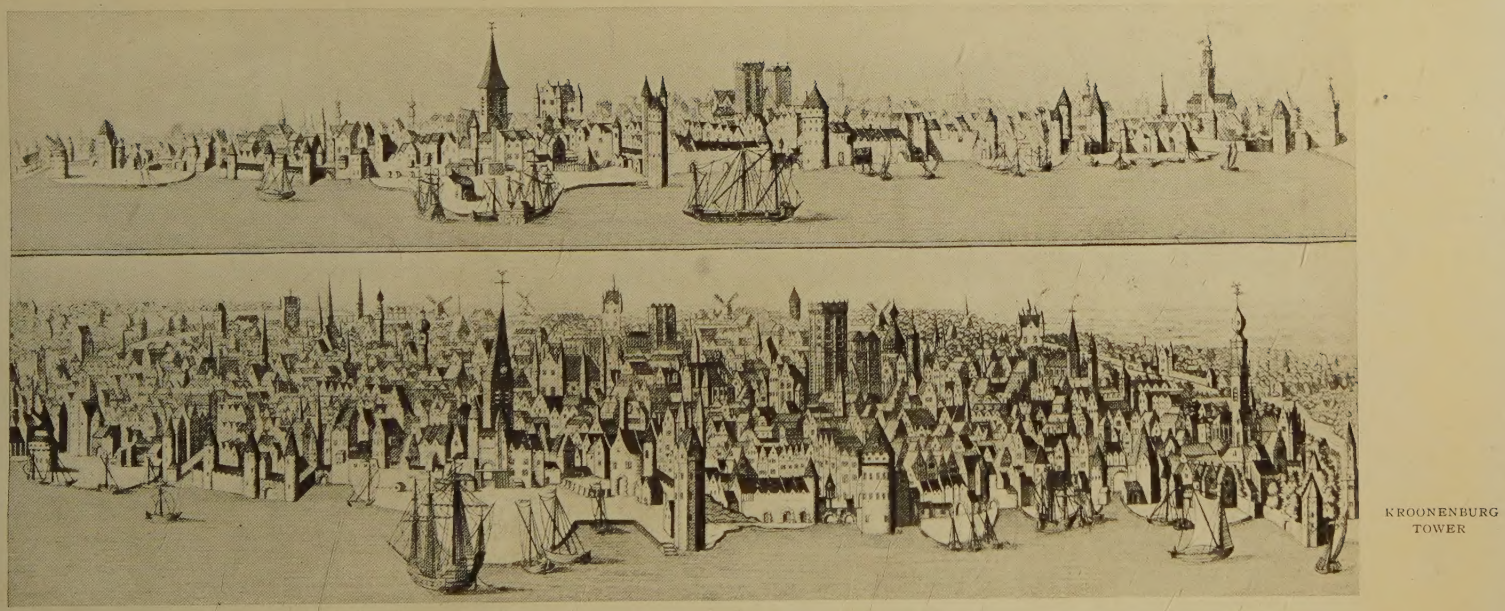


A VIEW OF ANTWERP SHOWING THE TOWER OF OUR LADY'S CHURCH AS HERMAN DE WAGHEMAKERE LEFT IT AT HIS DEATH IN 1503, AND BEFORE HIS SON, DOMINIC, HAD BEGUN THE WORK ON IT WHICH HE FINISHED IN 1518

TAKEN FROM A PRINT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ANTWERP

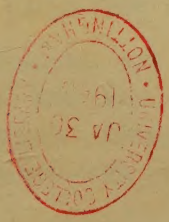
1477—1559

FROM THE BATTLE OF NANCY TO THE TREATY OF CATEAU CAMBRÉSIS)

BY

JERVIS WEGG

WITH A PLAN AND EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS



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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC., IN THE FOOTNOTES

Génard . . .	Génard, Anvers à travers les Ages.
M. & T. . . .	Mertens & Torfs, Geschiedenis van Antwerpen.
Moke	Moke, Histoire de la Belgique.
Pirenne . . .	Pirenne, Histoire de Belgique.
Thys	Thys, Historique des Rues et Places Publiques de la Ville d'Anvers.
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ANTWERP, 1477–1559

INTRODUCTION

PART I

THE land now occupied by the town of Antwerp must have been almost covered by water when the Romans came, but if there were any dwellers on it they were Belgæ, perhaps of the tribe of the Ambivariti. The men who rescued the land from the waters and built on it were akin to those Saxons or Frisians who settled in Friesland, Holland, Flanders, and part of Brabant. The Flemish or Netherland language which they spoke could be understood by all Low Germans. The Franks made the right bank of the Scheldt part of Austrasia. The place chosen by the first settlers was land formed by the confluence of the Scheldt and the Schyn in the midst of swamp. At some time a castle was built on this spot called the Burg, Bourg, Burcht, or Borgt.

Legend says that a giant, named Druon Antigonus, once dwelt hereabouts and levied toll from ships passing by, taking the skipper's right hand if his demands were refused, and throwing it into the Scheldt. Salvius Brabo, Lord of Tongres, a connexion of Julius Cæsar by marriage, slew this giant, says the legend, and bringing his hand in triumph to Antwerp, threw it into the Scheldt in the presence of the delighted inhabitants in proof of his victory. Tradition continues that the name of the town is to be sought in the Flemish "hand werpen" (to throw the hand), while the appearance of two hands in the town's coat-of-arms is also thus explained, and that the hero Brabo gave his name to the later Duchy of Brabant. But the name of the town is more likely to come from the Flemish Burg or Burcht "aen't'werf," the Burg on the Wharf, for a wharf or jetty called Werf was built before the castle into the deep water in very early days. Sixteenth-century Englishmen spelt Antwerp in all kinds of ways: Andwarpe, Andwerpe, Andwarde, Andewarp, Andwerp, Andwoorpd, Anverpe, Anvarppe, Amthwerp, Ayndewayrp, Handwerp.

We do not know who built the first Burg, or when its erection was undertaken, or how often it was reconstructed.

In the seventh century St. Giles (St. Eloi) preached Christianity to the people who lived under the walls of the Burg, and a little later came St. Amand, who built the first church, namely that of St. Peter and St. Paul, within the Burg itself. The Christian Faith was further established by St. Bavon, St. Willebrord, and St. Walburga. Tradition says that St. Dympna came with St. Gerbernus, fleeing from her father, and stayed for a while. St. Willebrord rebuilt St. Amand's Church and renamed it after St. Walburga. The district in which this settlement on the Scheldt lay became known as the Land of Ryen, and it was the northern limit of Austrasia, the Scheldt separating that kingdom from Neustria.

Rothingus is the first ruler of the district mentioned, and we are told that in 713 he gave to St. Willebrord the church in the Burg in addition to houses and a third part of the toll. The Burg or Castle therefore existed by this time, built, we may suppose, for a Frankish King, on an island separated from the river-bank (if such a term can be applied to the marsh-land through which the Scheldt and smaller streams made their way) by the Schyn and by ditches, the courses of which are marked by the present streets named the Burg Ditch and the Eel Bridge.

About the time of Charlemagne, Benedictine monks built a dyke (the Eijendyk) to join the island to the bank, and carried it to their monastery at Deurne, a short mile away along the line now marked by the Old Bourse, Wool Street, the Kipdorp, and St. James' Market, while another dyke was made towards Kiel where runs the present High Street (Hoghe Strate, rue Haute), so named because it was above the level of the other streets.

The monks also directed the draining of the polders of Mercxem, Eeckeren, Wilmaersdonck, Ooderen, Austruweel, and so made the foundation on which the present town was built. We have no knowledge of the history of the town in the Merovingian or Carlovingian periods, but very likely it was a trading place of importance under Charlemagne. At the death of Louis the Pious, the Burg and the Land of Ryen (Treaty of Verdun, 843) became part of the Middle Kingdom of Lothaire I. Lothaire II inherited the northern portion of his father's kingdom, namely what lay between the North Sea and the Jura Mountains, and after him it was called Lotharingia or Lorraine.

When Lothaire II died, Lorraine—and presumably the Land of Ryen with it—passed to Charles the Bald, who held it until 876, when right of conquest made all east of the Scheldt part of Germany.

In the meantime (835-6) the Normans laid the country waste and burnt the Burg and the dwellings round it, the inhabitants of the country being either captured or killed. Although the Northmen were crushed by the Emperor at the Battle of Lou-

vain (891), some remained in Brabant for a considerable period of time.

The part of Lotharingia lying between the Scheldt and the Rhine, excepting the Land of Liége, became separated from the rest, and being placed under a different Duke was called Lower Lotharingia or Lorraine.

At this far north-west corner of the Empire was set up a Margraviate against the French with a Margrave resident at Antwerp.

Gozilon or Gothelon (1008) seems to be the first Margrave mentioned in history. After the departure of the Normans the Burg and the dwellings enclosed within its walls were rebuilt; some think the invaders rebuilt them themselves. The Margrave soon became a person of considerable importance in the Emperor's service, whose duties prevented his being constantly within the Margraviate, so that burgraves were appointed to hold the Burg in fee from him. The extent of the Margraviate was altered from time to time, but in the fifteenth century it comprised nine quarters or cantons:

(1) The towns of Antwerp, Lierre, and Herenthals with some villages.

(2) The Freedom of Gheel with some villages.

(3) The Mayoralty of Santhoven with some villages.

(4) The Land of Arkel with some villages.

(5) The Land of Ryen with some villages.

(6) The Freedom of Hoogstraeten with some villages.

(7) The Freedom of Turnhout with the town of Turnhout and some villages.

(8) The Barony of Breda with the town of Breda and some villages.

(9) The Lordship of Bergen-op-Zoom with the town of Bergen-op-Zoom and some villages.

Over this district the Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire had jurisdiction with officers under him—schouts, drossarts, and mayors.[1] In time the Margraviate came to be always conferred upon the Duke of Lower Lotharingia and it was held successively by members of the Houses of Ardennes and Louvain. In the twelfth century the Dukes of Lower Lotharingia became known as the Dukes of Brabant. Out of the darkness which envelops the early history of the Margraviate emerges the armed figure of one of the Margraves, Godfrey de Bouillon. By this time enough dyking had been done on the neighbouring land to permit of a town of some size coming into existence around the walls of the Burg. Godfrey at first held no greater dominion than the Margraviate, but in 1089 the Emperor conferred on him the Duchy of Lower Lotharingia as a reward for his military services. In 1096 Godfrey re-endowed the Chapter of Canons

[1] M. & T. I, p. 123, etc.

and the monastery built on the right bank of the Scheldt on a site on which tradition says the Romans had built a temple to Mars.

In 1097 on Christmas night, Godfrey, his brother Baldwin, and many knights took the Cross in the church of this monastery. Godfrey's love of chivalry is well known, nor can his zeal for the welfare of Holy Church be doubted, but he left work undone at home in order that he might deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel. Like movements of all kinds in the modern world, the Crusading spirit took root early in the Netherlands. Thousands of all sorts left the country for the Holy Land, and Godfrey was followed by bands from Antwerp, but we know of nothing they achieved under their mighty leader. That they were men of such courage and endurance as one setting out for conquest would desire to have with him may be guessed from the fact that already half a century before some of them were included in the army which Norman William led to England. We must leave the Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire to overcome the infidel without further reference, remarking only that he sent home from Palestine to Antwerp a relic which wrought many miracles and was honoured at the Feast of the Circumcision until it was destroyed during the religious troubles in the reign of Philip II. Godfrey never returned and Henry of Limburg had become Margrave before the events took place which are now to be set forth.

All the inhabitants of Antwerp, says the chronicler, became heretics in 1112, led away by the seducer Tanchelm. This man was described by some as a heretic of the worst description, who would divert the reverence of mankind from God to himself, who taught that all good things were bad, and all bad things good, who corrupted innocent persons and beguiled and deceived those who trusted him. Others said that he was a good man who taught true things and suffered persecution at the hands of those to whose interest it was to maintain the infallibility of the Church and the superiority of the existing state of society. The strongest supporters of the Church had nothing but evil to speak of him, but some of those who had acquired the habit of seeing things otherwise than through the priests' eyes admired him as a reformer of abuses and a teacher of what was good for mankind. We can form no certain opinion on these points, but he seems to have attacked the clergy fearlessly and in this he was no doubt a worthy predecessor of certain later reformers. Without doubt he won the admiration and confidence of the people of Antwerp. Very likely there was a political question which the mode of thought of the times obscured under a charge of heresy.

The eyes of all men were for a time turned towards the Scheldt-town to see what new things were to be born into the

world. Whatever complaints may have been justly made against the clergy as a body in the beginning of the twelfth century, it is certain that at Antwerp their power was not strong enough, even after the death of Tanchelm, to stamp out his heresy among the people. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the town then decided, with the approval of the Bishop of Cambrai, in whose diocese Antwerp was, to invite the saintly Norbert to the town to contend against these teachings. St. Norbert arrived in 1122 with twelve monks of the Augustinian white-robed Order of Premonstratensians, and before a year was out no signs of heresy could be discovered. These monks on their arrival had been lodged at the monastery on the river-bank—probably the only building at which they could be entertained. It was the universal wish that St. Norbert should remain permanently in the town, but this proving impossible he departed when his work was done, leaving his twelve companions behind.

The canons then decided to bestow their cloister on these good men and to remove themselves nearer to the town. On a spot near the present church of Our Lady stood a chapel dedicated to Our Lady op 't Staeksken. In it was enshrined a wonder-working image of the Virgin which had been thus named Our Lady on the Bough by reason of its being miraculously made to hang to a tree, when during the Norman occupation it was thought to have fallen into the mud and to have been lost. This shrine was already visited by crowds of pilgrims, and to this spot came the canons in 1124. Here they built a church in Romanesque style, which stood until the beginning of the fifteenth century, and buildings for their own use.

The Crusades had brought the Netherlanders into more direct relations with the peoples of Europe and with those of the East, so that a commercial activity began to be apparent in the north of Europe. Even before the twelfth century Antwerp mariners with those of Friesland and Flanders had found their way to the Levant. The eastern products with which they returned needed, however, the gigantic advertisement which the Crusades gave them before there was any demand for them, but then northern commerce, which had hitherto been almost entirely in articles necessary to life, found vent in all such things as had beautified and mollified the existence of wealthy orientals. The bulk of the trade, however, fell at first into Italian hands. In the three centuries following the First Crusade the Flemish towns outstripped those of Brabant in industry and in commerce. Although there was often strife in which the Flemings were involved, the peaceful existence of the dwellers in the towns —Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, Courtrai—was not threatened until the climax of their prosperity had been reached, and they were

allowed to devote their main energies to industrial toil and commercial enterprise.

Holland and Zeland folk were too rough in these centuries to join each other for the establishment of commercial relations with distant lands in anything more than spasmodic efforts which amounted only to a promise of what might be done in the future. Of all the Flemish towns Bruges flourished most, for there was combined both commerce and industry, while Ghent and Ypres enjoyed little of the former. On the land dyked from the North Sea by the Netherlanders were raised even in very early times sheep whose fleeces were sent to all the Flemish towns to be made into cloth for export to all the north of Europe ; and much other merchandise, including raw material, soon began to come to Bruges from the Baltic, England, France, and the Rhineland, both down the rivers and by sea. After the Crusades eastern produce came in ever-increasing quantities by way of Italy across the Alps and down the Rhine. The Netherlands may well be called the centre of the then-civilized world, and this intercourse with other countries was much facilitated by the use of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, all of which found the sea in their territory. Bruges had then by far the most convenient port in the north, and so the bulk of the imported commodities were taken there to be exchanged for those of other lands.

This was the desirable as well as the most central place for southerner to meet northerner. Venetians brought the produce of their own country or the spices and drugs of the East to exchange them for produce from England and the Baltic, brought by the merchants of the Hansa. An arm of the sea named the Zwyn then stretched past the town of Damme to within half a league of Bruges, and thence ships found their way by a stream, the Reye, into the heart of the town. By the end of the twelfth century it became difficult to bring large ships all the way, and Damme was made a harbour and a canal cut to Bruges. The quantities of raw material continually unladen on the quays led the inhabitants to become an industrial people and all the land from Bruges to Arras, from Furnes to Oudenarde, was one large workshop, and by the beginning of the thirteenth century manufactures, particularly weaving, were established in almost all the towns in that part of the Continent. Flanders proper could itself have used up all the wool grown in England.

The apogee of the Flemish towns was attained in the reign of Louis of Male, Count of Flanders, a period during which Antwerp and Mechlin were annexed to Flanders, and the Scheldt was a Flemish river. The English wool-staple was for a time at Bruges before being removed to Calais, and the Hansa kept its chief depot there. Even Venetians might then have feared comparison between their home and Bruges. We find merchants

there from England, the Hansa towns, Upper Germany, Rochelle, Gascony, Languedoc, Scandinavia, Portugal, Catalonia, Venice, Florence, Lombardy, Genoa. The people of Bruges themselves seem not to have taken an important part in this commerce or in the banking business which reached such magnitude in later days, but to have been content with the profit to be made by acting as brokers and intermediaries. So wealthy were the inhabitants of Flanders that it seemed as if their riches fell on them from Heaven.

Hainaut was an agricultural country and had no great towns like those of Flanders. Under their Prince-Bishop the people of Liége did not experience such encouragement as the Counts of Flanders gave their subjects to develop their resources. By the days of the Dukes of Burgundy the Flemish towns were in rapid decay, although the Court which Philip the Good held at Bruges gave Flanders the appearance of being then in its greatest prosperity. Bruges like Venice enjoyed an after-glow in which her greatest painters and artists flourished, profiting by the wealth garnered in the town. The Zwyn had long been silting with sand, and turmoils throughout Flanders hindered the already belated efforts to assuage that and other evils which were sapping the strength of the communes. The Dukes of Burgundy had set out on a policy akin to that of other sovereigns of the fifteenth century, namely, of welding their possessions into a complete whole subservient to their will. The independence to which their Flemish subjects had long been accustomed and the dissimilarity between the different kinds of men over whom they ruled made this task of centralizing their power exceptionally difficult for the Dukes, but it was on a fair way to realization before the last of them was dead. The ultimate achievement was left for Charles V and Philip II to strive for. Added to their desire for independence was the wish of the merchants to trade freely, and to this the old-established institutions of the Flemish towns were wholly opposed.

Antwerp was less hampered by such restrictions and could more easily conform to newer demands and thus gained what other towns lost. At the same time and for much the same reasons the towns of the Hansa were losing power. For instance, it was the League's exclusive privilege to bring certain commodities to Bruges and to take away cloth to certain parts. Such monopolies were altogether out of date, and merchants sought towns where no such restrictions prevailed. But just as the rise of the weaving industry had been the foundation on which all else in Flanders was set, so the decline of it—when England began to weave cloth in great quantities, using her own wool—caused a wound from which there proved to be no recovery. Nor could Bruges, Ghent, Ypres and other towns forbear to strive in selfish quarrels to each other's injury. These

causes—especially the silting of the Zwyn—and a change in the bed of the Western Scheldt, prepared the way for Antwerp to take the place of Bruges as the chief port of the Netherlands, when she should be called on to do so.

The real history of Antwerp seems to begin in 1201, when Henry I, called the Warrior, was Duke of Brabant and Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, and a belt of walls and the Cow Gate, the Vine Gate, St. Catharine's Gate, the Meer Gate, the Brewers' Gate, and St. John's Gate were built. The wall ran along St. John's Canal, the Stonecutters' Rampart, the Lombards' Rampart, Ramshead Rampart (Ramshoofdvest, now Rue du Berceau) and St. Catharine's Rampart, joining the Recollets' Canal.

The town had by this time become important, and the inhabitants found themselves in a position to take steps to strengthen and confirm what they had ever held to be their rights and privileges, and to gain from the Margrave further liberties of the same kind, so that we find a series of charters and grants given with this object standing like milestones along the early history of the town. In 1221 Henry the Warrior guaranteed to the inhabitants their ancient liberty and freed them from all compulsory taxation and personal service, except for certain stated purposes. Gramaye says that it was at this time that foreign merchants (such as the Lombards) began to settle in the town. The grain trade was already considerable and probably the weaving industry had already been established. The growth of the population was answered by the continual making of dykes and the draining of the country round the town, which went on throughout the thirteenth century.

The short reign of Henry II is noteworthy in the history of the town because he gave his subjects the right to be judged by their own magistrates, because he summoned the delegates of Brussels, Louvain, Antwerp, Bois-le-Duc, Léau, and Tirlemont to Louvain to confirm a contract he had entered into, and because on his deathbed he recognized the rights of his subjects to control the Ducal expenditure and admitted that Aids ought to be granted by consent. These concessions were recognized by his successor, Henry III, in his will of 1261, who added that Aids should be demanded only for the defence of the country and for the Emperor's service, and in case of the marriage of the Duke's children, and when his sons were knighted.[1] So rapid was now the growth of the population that in the middle of the thirteenth century the girdle of walls had to be increased, a new wall being made to run from the Recollets' Canal along the street called Heyl with the Hat (now Rue du Chaperon), the Dyers' Canal, and the Leguit Ditch to meet the Scheldt by St. Peter's Canal.

[1] Génard, II. p. 222

By the courage which the men of Antwerp showed at the Battle of Woeringen (1288) they achieved a double object. The victory secured Limburg to the Duke and gave a safe trade-route to Cologne and Germany, and at the same time laid Duke John I under an obligation to them which he was not slow to recognize. In 1290 he granted them an important charter, confirming and augmenting their privileges, and granting that the judgments of their magistrates should be observed, and granting to the magistrates the right to appoint to all town offices. Also he promulgated a code of laws under the name of the Keuren van Antwerpen.

A charter issued by John II in 1306, after guaranteeing old privileges, regulated the creation of guilds and declared that the magistrates and the schout could henceforth make all kinds of ordinances and regulations for the government of the town. This was followed by another charter (1311) granting all land within the walls to the town.[1] However, the charter on which the ancient constitutional rights of all Brabanters was based is that known as of Cortenberg granted by John II in 1312. In it the Duke promised that the Duchy should not be taxed without consent except when his sons were knighted or married, or in the event of the captivity of the Duke or his children, and that each of his subjects should have justice, that a council of nobles should be established to advise him, and that deputies from the six towns of Brabant should sit with the council to enact laws. If the Duke refused to be bound by the decisions of this council his subjects were absolved from all obedience during his resistance.

Thence sprang the States of Brabant composed of nobles, clergy, and third estate, the first institution of the kind in the Netherlands.

The condition of the Western Scheldt or Hont at this time seems to have been such as to prevent large ships making free use of Antwerp, the only Brabant port, but some compensation was found for this disadvantage in the popularity of the Antwerp Fairs among merchants who lived in the vicinity and approached by land or came in small craft. On these two annual Fairs or Marts, John II lavished his favour. We do not know when they were first held, but probably soon after the Battle of Woeringen had made it possible for German merchants to attend in large numbers.

By charter of 1300, John II took under his protection for sixty days all merchants at the Fairs, and at about the same time he founded the Antwerp Horse Fair, held at first every Saturday, but later twice a year.

John II was led both by the traditions of his family and by his personal inclinations to help the growing commerce of Ant-

[1] Génard, I. p. 46.

werp, and yet he was guilty of one of those extraordinary errors of judgment which have so often harassed the subjects of the Netherland Sovereigns. From time immemorial Antwerp had enjoyed the right to be the staple of oats, of fish, and of salt. This privilege had been the very foundation of the commercial intercourse with strangers. In 1301, John II thought fit to deprive the town of all three staples and to set them up at Mechlin. The outcry at Antwerp was great, but John did not restore them until in 1309 the Emperor intervened in the town's favour.

In 1301 John II conferred freedom from toll on the poorters of Antwerp, and in the same year took the merchants of all countries with their goods and merchandise under his protection in consideration of the usual duties and tolls.

In 1305 John II granted a charter permitting English and all other foreign merchants to trade in his dominions, particularly at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, while in the same year the town of Antwerp made her first compact with the English.

In 1308 the Duke granted leave for poorters of Antwerp who had been arrested or whose goods had been seized abroad to retaliate on the persons and goods of that nation at Antwerp.

In the reign of John III Antwerp made greater progress than under any of his predecessors. Soon after his accession he granted the Walloon and Flemish charters amplifying that of Cortenberg, making the consent of the towns necessary before the installation of the great officers of the Duchy, compelling all officials to render accounts to the towns, and making other provisions for just government.

A few notes on the reign of John III show the gradual growth of trade.

In 1315 he conferred on German and other merchants a charter to trade in his dominions, particularly at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. It promised that house-room should be provided at Antwerp at reasonable rent. Among other provisions the schout and skepyns were to settle disputes between the merchants and the inhabitants. The merchants were to be allowed to administer justice among themselves, but not to condemn to death or mutilation. They were to be allowed to go armed and to have beer in Antwerp for themselves and their servants free of excise. As a result of this charter the Hansa opened a counter in the town.

Under 1318-9 the arrival of five Venetian galleys is recorded. This was the first coming of ships to Antwerp from the Republic, and it was due to complaints received by the Senate from their merchants as to the treatment they had received at Bruges, where there was then war.[1]

[1] These Flanders galleys sailed from Venice to the Netherlands for the first time in 1317. There is doubt as to the number of galleys which came to Antwerp and also as to whether they came in 1318 or 1319.

In the following years a number of galleys sailed up the Scheldt, including one from Genoa.

In return for an alliance against France, Edward III promised John III to move the English wool-staple from Bruges to Antwerp, and in 1338 he sailed to Antwerp from Yarmouth with a fleet of four hundred ships. The moving of the staple was a great blow to Bruges and all weaving Flanders. During his stay at Antwerp Edward lodged in St. Michael's Abbey and made preparations for the forthcoming war with France. This alliance led English merchants to go in greater numbers to Antwerp : their privileges were confirmed and increased, while every sign of welcome was given by the inhabitants.

In 1341 John III promised protection to all merchants—particularly the English—together with their goods for the space of three months after notice given them to leave the country, this, of course, without prejudice to personal liabilities they had incurred. So, too, did Edward grant privileges to the Antwerp merchants. John III naturally lost interest in Edward's cause when the war passed into France.

By charter of 1346, John III renewed all the old privileges of Antwerp and especially confirmed the liberties of merchants. The latter were afterwards collected in the Rechten or Customs of Antwerp. Again in 1349 John III confirmed the privileges and charters of the town, and decreed that any man living in Antwerp or staying in the town could claim to have justice administered to him according to the Town-Customs if he was a poorter and according to the law of his own country if a foreigner.

Also in 1349 the Emperor Charles IV published the Golden Bull exempting Brabant from all foreign jurisdiction.

In the fourteenth century many Flemish weavers sought refuge in Antwerp from the wars in their own country, although the prosperous condition of the latter was then unassailed, but on the capture of Calais the English moved their wool-staple to that town from Flanders.

It was the boast of the inhabitants of Brabant that their privileges and liberties had not been extorted by force from their feudal lords, but that they had rather been granted to them willingly in gratitude for loyal assistance in time of need. Guicciardini says that it was " by merit and by services rendered " that Antwerp emancipated herself from subjection and servitude. The assistance took the form of levies in the field and of grants of money. The poorters shared in the privileges granted to the men of Brabant as soon as the Margraviate became part of the Duchy. The privileges of the town gave them something over and above what Brabanters enjoyed.

Until the death of John III (1355) there was no certainty as to how far a new Duke might feel himself bound by charters granted by his predecessors, but then a new phase had come

over the affairs of Brabant. John had married his eldest daughter, Joanna, to Wenceslaus of Luxemburg, son of the blind King of Bohemia, and the subjects of the new Duchess felt themselves strong enough to demand of her and her husband a public recognition of the grants made by previous rulers before they would admit them to be their lawful sovereigns. The lawyers of Brabant, therefore, proceeded to weld the rights, privileges, and liberties their ancestors had won into a form comprehending the gist of all the charters. The will of Henry III (1260) and the Charter of Cortenberg (1312) formed the base of the oath sworn when they made their Joyous Entry, as their first visit was called.

Wenceslaus of Luxemburg and Joanna found themselves compelled to acknowledge and to pledge themselves to respect the liberties and privileges of all Brabant, when they presented themselves at Louvain and Brussels to be received by their subjects, and those of the Margraviate, when they came to Antwerp. The liberties thus recognized themselves became known as the Joyous Entry (Blyde Inkomste) and were the pattern of a series presented to Dukes in future.

The claims made by the subjects varied from time to time in accordance with what experience prompted them to desire most at the moment.

It was as Margravine of the Holy Roman Empire that Joanna made her Joyous Entry into Antwerp. The most noticeable provisions of the Joyous Entry, in view of the future, accepted by the new rulers, as Dukes of Brabant, were for the recognition that only natives of Brabant could hold office in the Duchy, and that the Duke could not form an alliance or declare war without the consent of the towns, and for the promise to keep the three staples at Antwerp. In addition to the Joyous Entry a ducal charter guaranteed the ancient privileges of Antwerp and provided, *inter alia*, that all members of the guilds and the officers of the town must be poorters. Louis of Male, Count of Flanders, had long desired to gain possession of Mechlin, which would enable him to threaten Antwerp's commerce, and with that in view he entered into secret negotiations with the townspeople, promising to wrest the three staples from Antwerp and return them to Mechlin in consideration of their recognizing him as their lord. He then invaded Brabant and blockaded the Scheldt with his fleet. Everywhere he met with success, and Wenceslaus was compelled (1357) to cede the Lordship of Mechlin to him, and to give him Antwerp and the dependent towns in fief, admitting the rights of his wife, the second daughter of John III, and to recognize him as Duke of Brabant.

Joanna, however, retained the title of Margravine of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus Antwerp found herself in the power of the ruler of the towns which were her rivals, and

saw her charters set at naught and her staples removed to Mechlin.

In 1368 Philip le Hardi married Margaret, daughter of Louis of Male, and after Louis's death Margaret held Antwerp in fee from her aunt Joanna. Philip le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, already possessed Flanders, Artois, Nevers, and Rethel, in right of his wife. He and Margaret made their Joyous Entry in 1384, confirming the privileges and taking the merchants under their protection on their journey to and from Antwerp, and during their stay in the town, but only a third of the staples was restored. Joanna bequeathed Brabant and Limburg to her great-nephew Anthony of Burgundy, grandson of Louis of Male, on condition that the Margraviate was re-united with the Duchy of Brabant. Anthony made his Joyous Entry into Louvain, the ancient capital of Brabant, and into Brussels and Antwerp in 1406. An article of the Joyous Entry to which he swore at Antwerp provided that the Margraviate should never again be separated from Brabant, and this provision was ever afterwards inserted. Anthony gave charters recognizing the privileges of the town, and took the Hansa and other merchants under his protection, and—most important of all—restored the three staples in their entirety.

In 1415 the Emperor Sigismund recognized the right of the town to hold the two great annual Fairs and declared that the three staples must be kept there. From this date, therefore, the town began to prosper as never before. During Anthony's rule the girdle of walls was again expanded. Anthony fell at Agincourt and was succeeded as Duke of Brabant and Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire by his sons John IV and Philip of St. Pol.

Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, was heir to Philip of St. Pol and his claim to the Duchy and the Margraviate of the Holy Roman Empire was admitted by the States of Brabant. Gradually the House of Burgundy got possession of a sheaf of provinces, namely Artois, Picardy, Flanders, Brabant, Namur, Hainaut, Holland, Zeland, Friesland, Luxemburg, and Limburg.

Brabant was therefore surrounded by states under the same ruler as herself, and Antwèrp was in a position very advantageous to her trade if the Duke was in mind to help her. As the power of the Dukes of Burgundy increased and they became better able to maintain order throughout their wide provinces, more and more people attended the Antwerp Fairs. In 1424 the Emperor Sigismund granted permission for persons even under the ban of the Empire to frequent the Fairs, and in 1448 the Bishop of Cambrai declared that all interdicts should be suspended while they were in progress. In passing to Philip the Good, the Margraviate of the Holy Roman Empire really

ceased to exist as such, for it had in future even less connection with Germany than before, and by coming into the hands of the French King's vassal was no longer an outpost against the French. Duke Philip the Good made his Joyous Entry into Louvain in October 1430, and bound himself (*inter alia*) to uphold the annual Fairs of Antwerp and to observe a fortnight's freedom allowed to all persons to depart with their goods unhindered.

By now the weavers of Flanders were beginning to feel the competition of those practising the industry in England, and as a consequence the splendour of the towns was nearing its end. The silting of the Zwyn was going on apace while some change took place in the Western Scheldt during the century, enabling the largest ships to make their way to Antwerp. The Eastern Scheldt—which was the only channel by which ships of any size had been able to sail—was not large enough to accommodate such ships as now sailed to the Netherland ports. With a view to helping the weavers Philip prohibited the import of English cloth on several occasions. The policy of the House of Burgundy of centralizing their power entailed the bringing into submission of the powerful independent Flemish communes, and the disturbances which occurred drove many merchants and artisans to Antwerp. Philip's protective measures to keep out English cloth and Charles the Bold's schemes to re-connect Bruges with the sea, point to an opinion that Flanders could be helped to regain the ground which had been lost.

The decline of the Hansa was as serious a blow to the commerce of Bruges as the capture of the weaving industry by the English was to her industry, for the trade in Baltic produce passed into the hands of the English and Dutch, who were not bound by contract made in exchange for privileges to bring it to Bruges, so that that port ceased to be the place where its exchange for merchandise from the south took place. Philip confirmed the privileges granted to the merchants when coming to Antwerp, and we find Portuguese and Venetians coming up the Scheldt in their galleys. The Duke's desire was to crush the political independence of the communes, but he knew well how much it would be to his advantage to preserve their commercial prosperity. After his failure to take Calais from the English Philip thought it best to revert to the old-established policy and he made (1439) a commercial agreement with the English which was the foundation of those of like nature in the future, but he several times reverted to his protective policy of shutting out English cloth, which certainly benefited the Flemish manufacturing towns at the expense of Antwerp's commerce. Philip, in fact, did little for Antwerp beyond regulating the custom-dues payable by the English, a privilege which drew to the town many merchants of that nation.

The Merchant Adventurers had moved their staple from Bruges to Antwerp and a whole guild of merchants had come from Middleburg. Charles the Bold entered Antwerp in September 1467 : the Joyous Entry which he swore was mainly a repetition of that of his father, but it contained the provision that a Council and a Chancellor of Brabant should be appointed to sit when he was absent and that the Netherland language should be allowed to predominate. The ascendency of the House of Burgundy had been instrumental in introducing much that was French. Charles was ambitious and spent most of his life and energy in his endeavour to turn his possessions into a kingdom, and this cost his subjects dear in taxation, but he was not unmindful of the interests of commerce. In 1468 the town gave a house named the *Hermitage* (de Cluys) in the Old Corn Market to the Hansa merchants and made a commercial pact with them. In the same year Charles married Margaret of York and a treaty was made with England, and the English merchants were given a house in Wool Street or Bullincstrate (now the Old Bourse).

At Neuss, Granson, and Morat men of Antwerp were found in Charles's army, but the whole country wanted peace. The independence of the towns before the reign of Philip the Good had prevented any ruler gaining enough power to compel his Netherland subjects to exhaust themselves in this way in futile effort to enhance the power of his own house. The monarchical system was developing in the Netherlands as it was in other countries. The crushing effect due to the Burgundian system of centralizing the government of the Duchies, Counties, and Lordships, which had been firmly established by Philip the Good, was more keenly felt under his warlike son, whose enterprises required heavy Aids. Both Dukes saw that it was to their advantage to enrich their subjects by fostering commerce throughout the Provinces, and both realized that the Flemish towns, particularly Bruges, were falling into evil days, but it does not appear that either of them foresaw that Antwerp would have a future which would outshine anything known in the way of commercial prosperity up to that time. The Battle of Nancy was fought on the 5th of January, 1477 (N.S.), and two days later Charles was found dead on the field.

PART II

The Town House, as Englishmen called the Stadhuis or Hôtel-de-Ville, and the neighbouring edifices formed the centre of the life of the town at the moment at which this period of

history opens, even more than they do to-day. The Town House did not stand exactly on the site of the present building, but backed on to the Sugar Canal and faced northwards on to the Great Market Place. The site is now occupied by the houses standing between the Sugar Canal and Horse Street. It was a building in pointed style made of wood, excepting a stone façade, and was thought very fine by contemporaries.

It was constructed early in the fifteenth century and had a pointed door above which were statues of the Virgin and two angels. The façade was remarkable for the niches containing statues. The roof had a stepped gable and was flanked by four towers. Above the façade was the Imperial Eagle. Before it was the tribune from which proclamations were made with sound of horn. The Town House was the seat of the local government and contained all the Council Chambers, Audience Chambers, offices and banqueting rooms which were needed by the Magistrates. The Court House (Vierschare) and the Prison (Steen) were close by, within the walls of the old Burg.

Apart from the Magistrates, although sometimes classed with them, were two officers appointed by and representing the Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire,—that is to say, the Duke of Brabant, to whom the other title had now become attached. They were the schout, schoutet, scout or écoute, and the amptman or amman. The schout was the Duke's representative, and it was his duty to arrest one who was to be charged with a crime and to bring him before the Magistrates sitting as judges in the Vierschare. There he acted as prosecutor and carried out the execution or punishment in the case of conviction. He had a seat in the Council of the Magistrates, and he commanded the military forces of the town. This officer, for some unknown reason, received the title of Margrave of the Land of Ryen. In 1436 an under-schout was appointed who was often referred to as the schout, thus confusing him with his chief, while the latter was often spoken of as the Margrave (of the Land of Ryen) without anything to distinguish him from the great officer of the Holy Roman Empire. In the following pages the ruler is always referred to as Margrave *of the Holy Roman Empire* when it is necessary to speak of him as such, instead of as the Duke of Brabant; his criminal officer is called the schout and the underling is called the under-schout.

The amman was an officer appointed by the Duke to look after civil trials and to put in execution, etc., against judgment debtors. Both schout and amman had to be Brabanters and poorters of Antwerp. Antwerp was a free commune with a College of Magistrates having both administrative and judicial powers and responsibilities. They could make ordinances for the governing of the town and "freedom" of Antwerp without reference to the Duke. The schout, the burgomasters,

THE OLD TOWN HOUSE AND CLOTH HALL

and the skepyns consulted together and issued such decrees. Antwerp recognized the Duke of Brabant or Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire as the prince, holding in fee from the Emperor, but it was practically an Imperial Free Town. It joined in treaties on its own behalf and sometimes as a guarantee.

The two burgomasters were the chief members of the College of Magistrates. One was called the buiten-burgomaster because he was chosen from outside (buiten) the roll of skepyns, and the other was called the binnen-burgomaster because he was chosen from within (binnen) that body. Of these the buiten-burgomaster was the more important, for he represented the town at the meetings of the States of Brabant and of the States General of the Provinces, and took the oath of the Duke at his Joyous Entry and was chief of police and commander of the military guilds. In fine, he looked after most of the important affairs of the town. The binnen-burgomaster was mainly concerned with the administration of justice and presided over the skepyns in both criminal and civil trials, pronouncing sentence or judgment; he presided over the Council; he gave audience when necessary to either poorters or strangers.

These two burgomasters were the chiefs of a Bench of twelve schepenen, échevins, aldermen or, as Englishmen called them, skepyns or scabyns. In administrative affairs these skepyns sat as councillors and in judicial matters as judges. Their administrative functions were discharged at the Town House and their judicial in the Vierschare, but sometimes civil business and criminal cases not involving a capital charge were taken at the Town House. The number of skepyns was raised in 1490 to sixteen, and in 1558 to eighteen. These skepyns were the body so often referred as to the Magistrate, Wet or Loi or Law. The term was meant to include the burgomasters and often the higher officers of the town.

The institution of the skepyns dates from very early times, and that of burgomasters in all probability from a period not very much later. The jurisdiction of the skepyns extended over the town and "freedom" of Antwerp, and over the river from Rupelmonde to Zeland. For the purposes of government and defence the town was divided into twelve wycks or quarters each under two wyckmasters, and four headmen were over all the wycks. The chief duties of the wyckmasters were to drill the inhabitants of the wycks and with the headmen to represent them in the Broad Council.

The governing body of the town was completed by the appointment of the deans of the trade guilds (ambachten). The deans were elected yearly by the Magistrates from names proposed by the guilds themselves, and governed the guilds with the assistance of two headmen of their own selection. We

must consider the Broad Council, established in 1436 under Philip the Good.

It was composed of four groups :—

(*a*) Burgomasters, skepyns, receivers, secretaries.

(*b*) Old or past-skepyns.

(*c*) Representatives of the wycks.

(*d*) Two representatives of each of the twenty-eight privileged guilds.

It was this Council's duty to assist the Magistrates with advice in important matters, such as questions to be raised before the States of Brabant with regard to the granting of subsidies. Any decisions had to receive the consent of each of the four groups before it became of any value.

Twelve representatives of the guilds sat on the Monday Council which met every Monday to discuss matters of police, but the more important affairs of the town were reserved for the Broad Council. The Monday Council could not come to any decision which would have any far-reaching result, and seems to have been of little importance. Nor could the Broad Council by any decision run contrary to the will of the Magistrates, who were in every respect the real rulers of the town—not only her rulers, but also her protectors. The charter of 1306 guaranteed the right of the inhabitants to be judged by their own judges alone, that is to say, by the Magistrates. The ordinances which they were entitled to issue for the government of the town were to be obeyed " as if the Duke himself had made them." It was likewise their privilege to authorize the formation of guilds, and to draw up ordinances for their regulation. But sometimes, and particularly at the beginning of the religious troubles, the Magistrates found it convenient to back their own opinion by that of the democratic assembly, the Broad Council, if they found they could do so, and to that end it was often summoned. The magistracy was still filled by members of a few noble or rich burgher families of the neighbourhood such as van Immerseele, van Ranst, van der Werve, van Schoonhoven, van Ursel, van Riethoven, van Berchem, van Lierre. Not only did these families supply the Bench of Skepyns but also gave members to serve as schout and amman.

In this Antwerp offered a contrast to other Netherland towns, and entirely pleased the Houses of Burgundy and Habsburg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who viewed the rise of the guilds with suspicion. The schout and amman were usually appointed for life, but the College of Magistrates was changed or rather refreshed annually in the spring.[1] Only poorters were eligible. The Magistrates presented to the Duke a list of double the number of names required. Half of this list consisted of the

[1] After 1539 it was renewed on St. Andrew's Day, the 30th of November.

names of outgoing skepyns, one quarter of new names added by the Magistrates, and one quarter of new names added by the wyckmasters. If the Duke could not preside in person at the ceremony he sent two eminent personages of Brabant, the Chancellor of Brabant usually making one, to represent him. Half the Bench was removed and replenished from the list which had been presented to the Duke. The skepyns then elected the two burgomasters, usually from names suggested by the Duke. The binnen-burgomaster was elected from their own body, and the buiten-burgomaster from the old skepyns. The inferior town officers were elected by the Magistrates and included the receivers or treasurers, the pensionaries or law-officers, the secretaries, the procureurs to control the weekly markets, the almoners to care for the poor and foundlings, the wyckmasters and headmen of the poortery, the deans of the guilds, the councillors from the guilds to sit on the Monday Council, the officials to preside in inferior courts, such as judges for the Cloth Hall, who decided disputes about wool and woollen stuffs, and for the Police Chamber, the syndics to take cognizance of offences against morality, and the peacemakers.

Poortership of Antwerp was a right which existed in very early days. It was an important privilege. The poorters were of two sorts, binnen- and buiten-poorters. The binnen-poorters were those born in the town or freedom of Antwerp, or born of parents who were poorters, or who became poorters by purchase and oath taken before the Vierschare and lived *within* the freedom. The buiten-poorters were those who lived *without* the freedom, and they differed from the former kind of poorters mainly in that their children were not poorters by birth alone, unless they were actually born within the freedom. A poorter of Antwerp might not be a poorter of any other town. He was not bound to discharge any military duty as vassal unless the town itself took the field, and he was not bound to pay taxes on goods which lay outside Antwerp, but in Brabant, unless the town gave consent. He was free from toll throughout Brabant, and free from the toll and dues which were payable on ships or merchandise coming by river, and he could not be tortured until stripped of his poortership with the consent of the Broad Council, nor be imprisoned outside the freedom, nor arrested in his own house without warrant. There was a third class of inhabitants—the ingezettenen, or strangers settled in the town, mostly merchants or traders. They enjoyed the same liberties as poorters, excepting freedom from toll and weighing-dues, and they were debarred from certain civic offices.

The authority of the Magistrates was guided by the Customs (Costumen) of the town, which had become a body of laws founded on principles deemed to have been in practice from time immemorial and confirmed or recognized from time to time

by the charters given by the Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, by the Joyous Entries, and by pronouncements of the Magistrates. The Customs were first embodied in 1545, and afterwards in 1570, 1582, and 1609, and were the law which regulated all the business carried on in the town in the sixteenth century. They defined the jurisdiction and the duties of the schout, amman and Magistrates, laid down the procedure to be followed before the Vierschare, and dwelt on the rights and duties of the poorters and inhabitants. Here we find the law which the Court was to uphold as affecting real and personal property, and its alienation by will or *inter vivos*, the law as affecting persons, and with regard to contract. The rights of those resorting to the town for business were set out, and all that concerned the peaceful holding of the fairs. Here, too, were good rules for securing the health and safety of the inhabitants. They comprised also a criminal code. As time went on new clauses were added to the Customs to meet new developments which had become apparent in the growing activity of the commercial community, and provision was duly made for the proper conduct of insurance business and the well-regulating of associations of merchants formed for trading.

The Great Market Place of Antwerp was surrounded by the houses of the guilds.

At the time of which we are speaking, that is to say, the beginning of 1477, there were twenty-eight guilds or ambachten.

The Market Place was then the largest and most accessible open space in the town, and here were held the solemn functions such as the oath-taking at the Joyous Entry of a new duke, jousting when great lords came, feasting and revelry for the people when the Magistrates or some kind merchants paid for food and wine, and the ordinary weekly markets on Saturday. The concourse of people which came together on a Saturday made that day the one chosen on which to bring prisoners across from the Steen to be executed before the Town House. The Sugar Canal then ran behind the Old Town House to the Quay. In 1541 a great fire consumed both sides of the present Malderystraet (rue des Emaux) which runs between the Great Market and the Glove Market. The Glove Market was a corner of the churchyard of Our Lady's Church, and earned its name from the glove-sellers who had a right to set up stalls and booths there at fair time. It lies before the western door of the church, and is now remarkable for the well-head, thought by some to be the work of Quentin Metsys. The churchyard then stretched over the ground now occupied by the modern Place Verte, the Glove Market, the Shoe Market, the Milk Market, and the Linen Market, all named after the traders who set up booths in them. Booths were set up at fair time all over the churchyard, the expense

and the profit being shared by the town and the Chapter of Our Lady. At the south of the churchyard on the site of the present rue du Gage and the Lombards' Rampart stood a Pand for the exhibition and sale of pictures, statues, books, prints, and cabinet-work. A pand was a space surrounded by covered galleries like the cloisters of a monastery. Just before the Battle of Nancy there had been a discussion as to the propriety of holding the fairs on holy ground used for burying the dead, but the Bishop of Cambrai ruled it in order so long as the stall-keepers did not sleep in the churchyard. The rents of the booths and the other profits accruing to the Chapter perhaps influenced the Bishop's decision.

As we have already seen, the two fairs or marts were held yearly. The first began a fortnight before the Feast of Pentecost, and the other on the second Sunday after the Feast of the Assumption, and each lasted for six weeks. They were called Sinxen-Marte, Pfingst-Mass, Pentecost Fair or the Small Year Market, and Bamas-Mart, St. Bavon's Mass, St. Remy or the Great Year Market. The opening took place according to custom.[1] The official called Short Rod announced the fair in a house named the *Maid of Antwerp*, on the Iron Bridge which connected High Street with the Market Place. On the morning of the opening the Magistrates met at the Town House at 9.30, all clad in brown and black mantles excepting the youngest, who wore one of crimson velvet. His task was to choose a beauty to fill the part of the Maid of Antwerp. When chosen, the Maid was enthroned at the Maid's House, and she received the homage of the Magistrates, to each of whom she presented a bouquet of red and white roses. The youngest skepyn was allowed to kiss her, and give her a plate of sugar plums. The schout then declared the fair open, and the Maid was taken home by the Short Rod in a carriage. During the six weeks the fair lasted the town minstrels played every evening before the Town House.

In the Monks' Street (Papengat) was the Priests' Cellar (Papenkelder), in which the canons stored their wine and beer. It was their privilege to bring in these beverages free of excise, if for their own use; a privilege which was always abused, and which led to incessant quarrelling with the town. In the Milk Market, by the east end of the church, were the house and school, named the Choraalhuis, in which the choir of the church were lodged and taught.

Antwerp had been nothing of a trading town before the churchyard and adjacent buildings had been included within the walls, and the town's importance made a growth commensurate with the activity appearing here at fair time. The girdle of walls existing in 1477 was that completed in 1410. The Church

[1] Génard, II.

of Our Lady was almost in the middle of the town. From the corner of the churchyard near which the Pand stood, a street then called Brewers' Street (Cammerstrate) ran along the present rue des Peignes and so led to St. George's Gate, and to the Beguines' Gate. Before St. George's Gate lay the road to Mechlin. A few years later (1490), a new street, Naeldwykstrate (present rue des Menuisiers), was opened to join the Shoe Market to the Hospital or Guesthouse Street, and so give access to St. George's Gate. The Kipdorp Gate was easily reached from the churchyard by the Kipdorp or the Long New Street, as was the Red Gate by crossing the Milk Market, passing the Cow Gate of an earlier line of walls, and going along Klapdorp and the wide Horse Market. The Meer was not yet vaulted, but stretched as a lake or pond.

The work of building the second Church of Our Lady, in pointed style, was not at an end. It had been undertaken in the middle of the fourteenth century and by 1477 the present choir and the two aisles were finished, as well as the transept and part of the nave, but these last were still only vaulted with wood. The two west towers rose to the second story and already contained bells. For the moment the work had been brought to a standstill for want of money, and it was not begun again for fourteen years. Small houses stood close up to the great building as they do to-day, a constant menace of conflagration. The tower of the Romanesque church remained standing until 1481. The number of canons of the Chapter had originally been fixed at twelve, but was now twenty-four. Their power had increased rapidly when Tanchelm's heresy had once been uprooted, and they became vastly rich, but by the end of the fifteenth century they were less able than before to control the government of the town. The wonderful image of the Virgin was at this time working surprising miracles, and pilgrims flocked to her shrine.

At a stone's throw from the north-east corner of the churchyard lay Wool Street, now Old Bourse. Here a Bourse had been erected in which dealing in all sorts of merchandise took place. All the merchants frequented it, and Wool Street was a very busy thoroughfare. Close to the Bourse was the house given to the English merchants three years before. In the oldest part of the town were to be found houses of wood, but when, as had been the case with Wool Street, fire had swept away the older buildings, new ones had been built of a better kind. The rooms of these houses, however, were low-pitched, and the windows small; often the upper stories jutted out one over the other and were ornamented with wooden fronts. Thatched roofs, together with wooden house-fronts, so increased the danger of fire that both had been forbidden, and tiled roofs had begun to appear.

The inhabitants had been fond of growing vines on the houses, but these also the Magistrates had found it necessary to forbid, for there were quarrels as to the ownership of the fruit. Most of the chief streets—the Long New Street, Brewers' Street, Kaiser's Street, Kipdorp Street, High Street, and Cow Gate Street—were paved.

Numerous churches, chapels, and almshouses, as well as civil and private buildings, had spires and turrets. Each house had its name carved or painted on it—such as the *Lion and Lioness*, the *Wild Boar*, the *Elephant*, the *Swan*, the *Golden Ram*, the *Little Stocking*, the *Red Shield*, the *Rose-coloured Hat*, the *Angel*, the *Looking-glass*, the *Millstone*, the *Goose*, the *Helmet*, the *Eagle*, the *Merman*, the *White Falcon*, the *Rhine*, the *Golden Apple*, the *Crown of Thorns*, the *White Beagle*, the *Coat of Mail*.[1]

Many shop-keepers hung trade signs above their doors. At the end of Wool Street and running to the churchyard was a remarkable street then inhabited by, and now called after, the roasters who kept kitchens and cookshops and sent out dinners ready prepared.

The streets round the Burg formed the oldest part of the town, and were narrow and winding.

The circle of walls existing in 1477 was the result of the third and fourth enlargements of the town. There were nine gates, great and small, opening on to the Quay. On the south the wall left the river at the Old Kroonenburg Tower, situated somewhere near the site of the Land of Waas Station. Near to the Tower was the Kroonenburg Gate. The wall ran along Lepel Street and St. Roch Street to the Beguines' Gate, thence by Barvoet Street and the Swordsmen's Street to St. George's Gate, which then stood at the end of Long Hospital Street. This gate was begun in 1314, and on the top of it, when finished, was placed a statue of the saint. Near to St. George's Gate stood the famous Blue Tower. From there the wall took the line somewhat within the modern Avenue des Arts to the Kipdorp Gate, begun in 1314, standing at the end of St. James's Market, and thence to the Red Gate, standing at the end of the Horse Market, and from there by the Anchor Canal, the Old Lions Canal, and the Brewers' Canal to the Scheldt. The Pisterne or Postern and the Slyck- or Mud-Gate gave access to meadows at the north of the town.

Fifty-one towers of stone defended the wall. When the first town wall was built, the Burg ceased to be kept in the state of a fortress, but Philip the Good prepared it to keep the town in subjection.

There were still some feudal obligations to be discharged to

[1] These names are all taken from the "Antwerpsch Archievenblad." Houses bearing these names are spoken of between 1460 and 1483

the Emperor on behalf of the Burg. The chatelain was called the burgrave. This office, after being in the family of Diest for several generations, came into that of Nassau in 1490, and in 1538 into that of Orange-Nassau, so that afterwards "Burgrave of Antwerp" was one of the many titles borne by William the Silent. Once the burgrave had had many civil duties to discharge, but in time these had been given over to others. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we hear nothing of the burgrave as such, except in consequence of such affection for the inhabitants of the town as he thought it his duty to manifest.

Up to the middle of the sixteenth century a considerable stretch of the old wall stood between the Burg and the town. Guicciardini says it was a wonderful piece of masonry and stretched nearly 1,000 paces with a ditch on the outside. Two gates only—the Wharf Gate and the Steen Gate, both leading through the Burg—gave access through this wall to the Wharf on the river, and the coming and going of those employed on the river was much impeded. Promises had been made of alteration, but nothing had been done when Charles fell at Nancy. Within the Burg stood, among others, four important buildings —the Steen, the Vierschare, the Reuzenhuis, and the Church of St. Walburga. The Steen was all that remained of the Castle or Burg itself, and had come to be the town prison. It was rebuilt by Charles V, and in a restored condition is to be seen to-day. While awaiting trial, a prisoner was detained in the Steen and then examined by the schout or under-schout and two skepyns. It was necessary to bring him before the Vierschare within three days of his arrest or he must be released ; nor was it possible to remand him for longer than three days at a time.

In the Vierschare the skepyns sat each Friday and tried those charged with crime, the proceedings being conducted in Flemish. The Court had sat in the Burg from time immemorial, beneath the open sky (onder den Blauwen Hemel) and with open doors. The skepyns sat as judges and were presided over by the binnen-burgomaster. They took cognizance of all crimes excepting a few against the Duke or the State, which were reserved to the Council of Brabant. The term Vierschare, or Vierbank, referred to the four stone seats on which the Court sat. The schout put forward the case for the prosecution on behalf of the Duke, and asked for the punishment which he thought would fit the crime. The prisoner was allowed counsel and advocates were charged with the defence of poor prisoners. Bail was allowed in minor cases.

Very often during a trial it became very difficult or impossible to elicit information from parties concerned or from witnesses without torture, but the schout could not torture a man who

was a poorter, except with the previous consent of the Broad Council to his being stripped of his poortership, and no one could be tortured except with leave of the Magistrates and in the presence of two skepyns. If the victim in such a case made any confession, he was hurried to the old bridge near the Steen to confirm what he had confessed "under the blue sky" and publicly. He was then taken to the Vierschare and his confession was read aloud. No Brabanter could be put to death until he had confessed his guilt, and to this end torture was sometimes applied, but never solely as a punishment. Finally, the sentence—in which the Bench must be unanimous—was pronounced by the binnen-burgomaster.

The burgomasters and skepyns, as a Bench of Judges, had power of life and death; execution had to be carried out in twenty-four hours. It was not usual to bury the body of one executed, and his goods were forfeited. The jurisdiction of the Magistrates extended over the town and freedom. In civil matters an appeal lay from the Vierschare to the Council of Brabant, but there was no appeal in criminal matters. Civil cases were conducted by the amman—usually in the Town House, but sometimes in the Vierschare. In civil cases *no one*, even a stranger (ingezeten), could be imprisoned or his goods seized for debt without previous inquiry by the Magistrates. If a debtor did not satisfy a judgment, bailiffs (coleuvres) were put into his house. If he did not pay then, he or his goods might be seized. No one domiciled in the town could be imprisoned for debt until it appeared that he had no means to satisfy it, but a stranger who had no house or lodging could be seized at any time.

The Reuzenhuis was said to have been occupied, as its name suggests, by the Giant Druon Antigonus. It was in fact occupied by the Teutonic Order of Knights.

St. Walburga's Church was rebuilt in pointed style in the thirteenth century on the site of the old Church of St. Amand. It was often spoken of as the Church "in the Burg." At the time of the death of Charles the Bold, the Church of Our Lady was the only church in Antwerp with full parish rights. The Church of St. George was a small building in pointed style, erected in the south-east of the town, and there was a small gothic chapel, built to St. James of Compostella, in the Kipdorp. St. Willebrord's was a parish church with full rights, but it stood outside the walls. The early history of Antwerp is mostly that of the ecclesiastics of the town and of the growth of the commons. The chroniclers speak of the granting of charters more than of the waging of wars, and still more often do they tell of the arrival of some fresh body of monks or nuns. The Chapter of Our Lady opposed by every means in their power the establishment of monasteries, since each new addition to the number of clergy

meant so many more ecclesiastical mouths to fill. It was with the worst possible grace that new-comers were allowed to perform those offices of the Church which brought in a valuable revenue. The Chapter would have preferred to have kept in their own hands the whole of the monopoly of baptizing, marrying, and burying the inhabitants of Antwerp for a fee. Yet by the time the last Duke of Burgundy was dead, Antwerp was overrun by monks and nuns.

We have seen that after Tanchelm's death, St. Norbert left his monks in the Abbey on the Quay, and that the canons who had occupied it till then moved to the Chapel of Our Lady op 't Staeksken. The Abbey was dedicated to St. Michael, and in 1477 the monks had just completed their new church with the exception of the tower. In the Abbey was a suite of rooms set apart as a palace for the Duke to live in, when he visited the town, at the cost of the Abbey. The situation was charming, standing as it did on the river bank a little south of the Burg amid trees and gardens. The Abbot represented the Antwerp clergy in the States of Brabant. On the other side of the Burg and standing back somewhat from the river, on a site now indicated by St. Paul's Church, was the next most important cloister—that of the Dominicans (Predikheeren). They came to Antwerp at the invitation of the Magistrates in spite of the protests of the Chapter, but were six years in the town before they acquired this plot of ground known as the Driesch. They had built themselves a dismal and ugly church which stood until in the sixteenth century they built their new church, now St. Paul's. On the south side of the church, where is now the Calvary, they had built a Pand for the sale of gold-, silver-, silken-cloths, tapestry and other precious articles. The monastery was a large one, and occupied the ground between the present rue du Pré, the rue du Cailloux, and the rue des Sœurs-Noires. The Franciscans, spoken of as Recollets, Minderbroeders, Friars Minor, Grey Friars, Observanten, and Cordeliers, lived in a monastery on a spot named the Raemveld, from the " raemen " on which the fullers stretched their cloths to dry, situated between the Klapdorp and the street now called rue des Aveugles.

At the back of the old Town House, standing a little away from the river with its entrance in High Street, was a monastery founded by one Peter Pot and filled by him with Cistercian monks. It was named the Priory of St. Salvator. The monks' chief duty was to distribute alms among the poor. Pot was a merchant who had made a fortune by trading with the East as early as the first half of the fifteenth century. The Boggaerds or Beggaerds, who when they first came were uncloistered monks, had now adopted the rule of the Third Order of St. Francis, and had established a cloister on the Egg Market on the churchyard. They were sometimes called the Penitents,

The Cell-brothers or Alexians made it their chief care to tend the sick and lunatic, and to bury the dead. They were of German origin, and had taken the rule of St. Augustine. Like the Boggaerds, they had not always lived together, but now they had a cloister between the Boggaerds' Cloister and the churchyard. The Carthusians had a monastery at Kiel, outside the walls of the town. The Benedictines had once had a monastery at Deurne, but there were none of them in the town at this time. The Carmelites and the Saxon Augustinians did not come until a few years later, but it will be seen that Antwerp was overrun by monks, a circumstance of great importance when Luther's doctrine began to spread.

The Dominicans were devoted to study and were always looked up to in Antwerp until their persecution of the supporters of the reformed doctrines brought the order into popular hatred. The Boggaerds—at all events at one time—were known to support themselves by their own labour, chiefly by weaving; and the Cell-brothers nursed the sick with courage and patient care and buried the dead; but the other monks did little to justify their existence, beyond the regular round of Church offices, and lived in an extravagant manner when wealth made it possible.

Early in the fifteenth century the Chapter of Our Lady found it necessary to forbid the clergy of their church to frequent taverns, and reference is made to the keeping of mistresses. The canons of Our Lady wore purple cloaks, the Norbertines wore white habits, the Dominicans brown and white, the Franciscans and Boggaerds grey, the Cell-brothers brown. The nuns deserved much better of the inhabitants, and there were several conventual houses for women. Less opposition was offered by the canons to the coming of nuns, for they could not take the bread out of their mouths by earning fees for baptizing, marrying, and burying. The Victorines or The Nuns (Ter Nonnen) settled on a spot outside St. George's Gate, now the Park. Their patron saint was St. Margaret, and they were of the Order of St. Victor, after whom they were called. The White Sisters were of the Order of Penitents of Mary Magdalene, and their chief duty was to rescue fallen women and turn them into saints. Their convent was in Brewers' Street. There was also a sisterhood of nursing-nuns of the Hospitallers' Order, who lived near the Dominicans' Cloister, by the side of the Blue Brothers. In the sixteenth century they took a black habit and were called the Black Sisters. Between the Meer and the New Street, near the present Bourse, lay the Convent of the Poor Sisters of St. Clara, of St. Francis' Rule. Certain Augustinian nuns had been housed by a canon of the Chapter, named Falcon de Lampage, in a house named after him on Falcon's Canal at the north of the town. And finally there were the nuns of the Third Order of St. Francis, whose cloister was

in Long Hospital Street. From the time of the Crusades certain nuns—at first with the assistance of monks—had nursed at the Leper-House (Ter Zieken) outside St. George's Gate (the present Pépinière). This was the only hospital for lepers, nor would the infirmaries take in those smitten with the disease, so that many of them had to live amongst other folk. In 1488 the Magistrates ordered them to live only in sparsely populated parts of the town.

The Leper-House was under the management of the town, as were the six following Hospices or Godshouses:—St. Elisabeth's Guesthouse, called the Hospital, in the street called Hospital Street, by St. George's Gate, was built and was served by black-robed Guesthouse Nuns, who built such hospitals in several towns for the indigent poor. St. Julian's Guesthouse was in High Street, just outside the St. John's Gate of the first fortifications, and all male travellers and pilgrims could rest for two nights and enjoy the hospitality of the pious individuals who had endowed it. In the Short New Street was an Almshouse (hospice or hospital, as such establishments were called) with a chapel dedicated to St. Anne, for eleven old women with a servant to wait on them. On the Driesch, near the old Cow Gate, was an Almshouse for twelve old men, with a maid to serve them, who were dressed in blue garments and were called the Blue Brothers. The Infirmary or Sickhouse was in the Klapdorp at the corner of the present Dominicans' Street; it was not an infirmary in our sense, but housed fourteen old women. The last of these establishments looked after by the town was that of the Beguines or Annunciates outside the Beguines' Gate. Their first Convent or Beguinage had been burnt just before this period opens, and was being rebuilt. It was properly a Godshouse or hospice. The order of the Beguines, so well known throughout the Netherlands, took no vow.

There were also a number of almshouses not under the control of the Magistrates, for instance, one in the churchyard for twelve old women and a maid; one founded in Wool Street by the Furriers for their aged members; St. Nicholas' Hospital in the Long New Street founded by the Mercers' Guild for their members; the almshouse and chapel founded by the Tanners' Guild in the street named after them. Other guilds, too, had chapels and almshouses.

In Kaiser's Street was a Godshouse set apart for those on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella; there was a guesthouse for women-travellers near St. George's Gate, called the Vrouwkenhuys; there was a Foundling Hospital (Weeskamer), supported by the Tables of the Holy Spirit.

Several of the rich abbeys of Brabant had Refuges (as they called them) at which their members stayed when in town; for instance, that of the Abbey of Afflighem in the Burg, and that of the Abbey of Villers (of which the site is unknown), and that

of the Abbey of Baudeloo between the Meer and the Crossbowmen's Ground.

It is well to note some of the chief Market Places besides the Great Market Place and those already mentioned which formed part of the churchyard, in order to locate the busiest centres. The largest was that on which the famous Antwerp horse fairs were held twice a year. It lay between the Klapdorp and the Red Gate, and the spot is still called the Horse Market. There were two horse fairs a year, each lasting three days, one at Pentecost and one at St. Bavon's Feast. Numbers of horses were brought from all parts of the Netherlands. Four days before each fair the amman, with some solemnity and to the blowing of horns, declared all horses at the market and on their way thither to be under arrest from that moment, so that it was not lawful to buy or sell them until the fair opened, except for the Duke, his officers, and the Magistrates. Antwerp had the monopoly of the trade in horses. The Smiths had built a chapel on the Horse Market, and dedicated it to St. Giles. The Cattle Market lay where it does to-day, before the door of the Dominicans' Church. Close by had stood a Butchers' Hall built at the end of the thirteenth century for the butchers' use, but this was soon to give way to the building which still remains. Many houses in this part of the town, between the Dominicans and Wool Street, had been destroyed by fire in 1441. Fires were exceedingly common, and two years later the district round High Street suffered the same fate, so that much rebuilding had been done on the Quays during the reigns of the two last Dukes of Burgundy.

The hide and skin fair held close to the Cattle Market was very largely attended. The two hide fairs had kept Antwerp going when the three staples had been removed to Mechlin. The Egg and Milk Markets were part of the churchyard. The Fish Market stood at the south of the Burg, partly inside and partly outside its walls. The Old Corn Market stretched along the south of the churchyard to the end of Brewers' Street, while grain brought from Zeland seems to have been sold on a market on the Sand (Sablon) on the river-bank by Peter Pot's Abbey. Herring-smoking was carried on at a place called the Smoke House (Rook-huis) on the Kraaiwyk near the Dominicans, boats bringing the fish from Holland and Zeland.

The Ducal Mint was moved from Louvain to Antwerp by Charles the Bold and established in an old house named *de Cruninghe* behind St. Michael's Abbey. One going from this building to the Great Market Place would pass along Cloister Street and then High Street, in which several of the cloth-weaving towns had warehouses and offices. Just before reaching High Street one would pass the corner of the Stonecutters' Rampart (Steenhouwers-Vest), in which lived many of the

Guild of the Four Crowned Saints who were engaged on the erection of the Church of Our Lady close by and other buildings. Further along High Street, but on the other side of it, before reaching Peter Pot's Abbey was to be found a district (now rue des Etuves) famed from the bath-houses it contained. These establishments were as much taverns as bath-houses, and often brothels, for both men and women used them. The Kroonenburg Gate at the south of the town took its name from the Kroonenburg Tower close by, which was a fragment of a castle built by a German Emperor. It took its name from a crown by which it was surmounted, and was thought to have marked the boundary of the Holy Roman Empire in this direction.

The part of the town lying within St. George's Gate was not thickly built over and many of the houses had large gardens. Brewers' Street (Cammerstrate, the present rue des Peignes) contained a number of breweries (cammer in Flemish meant brewer)—the *Looking-glass*, the *Lily*, the *Key*, the *Star*, the *Sword*. Many printers set up in this street, for it was one of the chief thoroughfares in the town, and along it came travellers entering by St. George's and the Beguines' Gate. Close by the military guilds had their practice-grounds, and of them a remembrance is left in the names of the streets now called after them and after their patron saints—the Rampart of St. George, the Arquebusiers' Street, the Swordsmen's Street, the street of the Crossbowmen's Garden. Besides their practice-grounds on and near the site of the present French Theatre, each guild had a fine chamber, in some cases on the Great Market Place, filled with beautiful furniture and pictures and, like the trade guilds, a chapel or an altar in the Great Church.

There was no gate at the present Place Teniers. A canal, running by the Blue Tower, joined the Meer to Herenthals Canal, and between it and the wall lay a large hop-field. At the town end of the Meer was a street named after the tanners.

The best houses in the town at this time were those one would pass entering the town by the Kipdorp Gate and going to the Town House, or the Great Market Place by the Kipdorp Street or the Long New Street. On entering by the Red Gate one found the newer part of the town, in which the streets were broader than in the old, and in which more canals lay among the streets. Yet the part of the town between the Red Gate and the river included some of the roughest districts in the town. Just inside the Red Gate at the south of the Horse Market lay the Kauwenberg or Alderheyligem Berch, which was infested by the scum of the population—thieves, vagabonds, prostitutes. The Franciscans had tried to live there when they first came to the town, but had been compelled to leave it by the disturbances which occurred. Between the Dominicans' Cloister and the river was the Golden Mount (Guldenberg), to which at one time the Magistrates had

confined the residence of prostitutes. To the north of the Dominicans' Cloister, at the end of the Klapdorp, lay the Leguit, which seems to have been in early times the weavers' quarter. Here and on the Driesch (where stood the Dominicans' Cloister) many dyers established themselves. Their residence is commemorated by the street named the Dyers' Canal (Canal des Teinturiers), which used to be called Blauw-handsche rui from their hands stained by their work. Kraaiwijk, Klapdorp, and Kipdorp had once been villages outside the town.

From the river or the Flemish Headland the town in 1477 probably had a very picturesque appearance, but it was not then so remarkable as when, a few years later, the rebuilding of churches and chapels had bettered it. A picture made in 1500 shows the town then to have seemed from the river a mass of pointed gables, bristling with spires and turrets.

The opal and silver effects of light over the river would make almost any cluster of buildings on the bank appear beautiful as soon as (1518) Our Lady's Tower was there to lend them majesty. Just outside the town gates lay the wide pastures formed of " polders " or drained lands, and the country was entirely flat as far as the eyes could see, but round the town rows of trees prevented monotony in the landscape.

After being joined by the Rupel the Scheldt turns in a bend as it were to meet Antwerp, and then, passing on between Brabant and Flanders, parts into two at Saftingen, four leagues away. The Western Scheldt becomes the Hont, and passing Flushing gains the sea between Sluis and Walcheren. The Eastern Scheldt goes by Bergen-op-Zoom and the Zeland Islands to the sea.

The Antwerp Wharf was remarkable from early times for a crane which stood on it, served by a special guild of men (Kraankinders), who were in the service of the town and wore the town livery. This guild was one of several employed in unloading ship and waggons.

The poorters of Antwerp were by privilege toll-free on the Scheldt and no tolls were demanded even on the goods of strangers coming or going by land. The tolls on the Scheldt above Rupelmonde belonged to the Count of Flanders, and from that town to Zeland to the Duke of Brabant, as Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire. The Duke had assigned some of these tolls. Jock-toll was a duty levied on all ships moored at the Antwerp Quay. A portion of the proceeds of this toll had by now passed into the possession of the town, and so had part of the famous Riddertol, which was a duty, payable also to the Margrave, on merchandise arriving by the Hont.

There had been originally a number of tolls with the ownership in several hands, and the town from an early date wisely bought and extinguished as large a portion of such burdens as it could. The Counts of Holland collected a toll, called the Zeland

toll, on merchandise carried on the Eastern Scheldt, at Yersikeroir, a place now swallowed up by the sea, but then in South Beveland, opposite to Bergen-op-Zoom. From this toll also poorters of Antwerp were free. In 1500 the collection of this toll was moved to Armuyden, in 1501 to Veere, and in 1531 to Antwerp. The various agreements made with the merchants of foreign nations to tempt them to the town show to what extent relief from tolls payable by foreigners could be used as an inducement—either on their way to the fairs or at ordinary times. The disputes so constantly arising with the English merchants were often concerning impositions which they claimed to be contrary to treaties made with them, or contrary to custom. An excise duty had to be paid on wine and beer and a number of articles, and the proceeds belonged to the town. We have already spoken of the right to the staples of fish, salt, and oats. By charter of 1491 Maximilian and Philip the Fair made Antwerp the Netherland staple for alum, which was then the most important article of commerce excepting salt, being needed by dyers and the makers of the large quantities of candles consumed in the churches.[1]

The value of a few of the many different coins found in Antwerp must be mentioned. A stiver was a silver coin worth two Flemish groats, and was used in Antwerp more than the groat. The gulden or florin of St. Andrew was a gold coin worth 20 stivers. A Flemish pound was made up of 20 shillings of 12 groats. A pound or livre in Antwerp meant the Livre de Flandres—Flemish pound.

In the middle of the fifteenth century a new pound or guilder was introduced, composed of 6 gulden or florins of 20 stivers or 40 groats and was called the Livre de gros de Flandres.

The ducat at Antwerp usually meant the gold ducat, worth about an English half-sovereign.

The relative value of coins was constantly changing, and it is not always clear what coin is meant when a ducat or a florin is mentioned. The buying power of gold and silver in the fifteenth century was about twenty times greater than it is now, but it had fallen to ten times by the death of Charles V.

The same uncertainty appears as to the size of the measures quoted. A viertal, quarter or raisière varied, not only throughout the Netherlands, but from village to village in Brabant. Very often quotations are made in these pages merely for what they are worth and without expectation of doing more than impress on the reader that at such a moment the chronicler from whose work they are taken draws attention to the conditions then prevailing.

The following table given by Meteren [2] shows approximately

[1] M. & T., III, p. 327.
[2] Meteren, folio 252.

the values at different dates of those coins most common in Antwerp:—

Names of Coins.	Dates.			
	1489.	1520.	1552.	1586.
	Stivers.			
Rose noble	66	85½	96	114
Henri noble	50	75	84	128
Angelot	37	57	63	100
Lion d'or	30	44	48	74
Ecu de soleil	24	36	40	60
Florin of St. Andrew	20	29	32	49
Ducat of Hungary	26	39	41	64
Golden German florin	18½	28	31	48
Piece of 4 patarts	—	4	4	6
Patart or stiver	—	1	1	1½
Real d'or struck by Charles	—	60	66	100
Demi-real	—	30	32	50
Florin d'or of Charles	—	20	21	33
Philippe	—	—	30	50
Real of Spain	6	7	7	10½

CHAPTER I

MARY OF BURGUNDY AND MAXIMILIAN—THE "QUAEY WERELD"—THE FRENCH AND FLEMISH WARS

CHARLES'S only child, Mary of Burgundy, was scarcely twenty years old at her father's death. In spite of the disasters which had fallen on her house she remained the richest heiress in Europe, and she succeeded to Burgundy, Artois, Picardy, Hainaut, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeland, Luxemburg, and Limburg. Her subjects recognized her as their lawful sovereign, but it was with relief that they heard of her father's death. The Duke's ambition had led him into wars from which no advantage accrued to them in return for an almost intolerable taxation, and his imperative nature was a continual menace to the preservation of the privileges which safeguarded their trade. The army which he led on his last campaign included few of his Netherland subjects. Yet it seemed incredible that such a personality could be so suddenly swept from the scene by death. The rejoicing at the news was tempered by reports spread by those who would not give up hope of his return: he was said to be held prisoner by the Germans; he had been seen alive at Metz, at Rome, at Jerusalem, in Portugal, in England. Merchants entered into business transactions the performance of which was made to depend on his return.[1] It was only on the 20th of January that Mary was convinced that she would not see him again. This princess was surrounded by relatives and her father's councillors. Among the former was her cousin, Adolphe of Cleves, Lord of Ravestein, whom Charles had left behind as Lieutenant-General, and her stepmother, Margaret of York. Chief of the councillors were Hugonet, the Chancellor of Burgundy, and Humbercourt. The Netherlands stood defenceless before Louis XI, and he lost no time in invading them, soon making himself master of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Picardy, Artois, and part of Hainaut. At the same time he opened negotiations with a view to marrying the Dauphin and the young Duchess.

Adolphe of Cleves had no troops excepting the scanty garrisons on the French frontier, and Mary could look for no help from the Emperor or the King of England. It seemed as if the

[1] Molinet, II; M. & T., III, 251.

Burgundian heritage lay at the French King's mercy, and that the Scheldt would once more become the eastern boundary of France. Brabant had never been part of France, and Philippe de Comines assures us that if Louis's plans had reached a successful issue, he would have invited a German prince to become its Duke.

The States of Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut, and Holland met at Ghent in February and agreed to raise an army of 100,000 men, but this project was not carried into effect. They had no intention of passing into the power of a king who was strong enough to trample their liberties under foot, but they evinced no patriotic spirit until they had extorted from their young Duchess such a bundle of privileges as they thought would secure their rights in the future.

There is much to be said in favour of the course they took, for they had suffered much, especially the Flemings, since the Dukes of Burgundy began to centralize their power and crush claims to purely local privileges and liberties. Mary had no choice but to sign (11th of February, 1477) "The Great Privilege," which was the first charter common to all the provinces. It overthrew the central government established by the Dukes of Burgundy, and it abolished the "Parlement" of Mechlin, which had been set up by Charles as a central Court of Appeal for all his dominions; but it left the Provincial Councils of Justice almost unchanged. What the provinces or towns might need over and above this charter they were left to obtain for themselves.[1]

The arrival of the news from Nancy had been followed by popular risings in most of the towns in Flanders and Brabant, and in them one sees the hand of Louis XI. That at Ghent, where the Court lay, was the most serious, and was aimed more than the others at the ducal power. However much the men of Ghent loved their Duchess, they intended to destroy the old régime of her ancestors, and to this end it was necessary to remove for ever the councillors who represented the central power. Hugonet and Humbercourt were both foreigners, and were hated as the representatives of a detested form of government. It was easy to charge them with the design of delivering Flanders into the hands of Louis. They were seized, tried, and executed (Good Friday morning, the 3rd of April, 1477). It seemed as if all that the House of Burgundy had done to crush the power of the Flemish Communes had been brushed away in three months.

During Charles's lifetime emissaries of the French King had been in Antwerp with the object of stirring up sedition.[2] There were signs of unrest during this period; in 1467 there had been a tumult in the town before the Town House; but it was handled with prudence and all went home in peace. Nine days later, however, the chief burgomaster was murdered, though we

[1] Pirenne, III.

[2] Ph. de Comines, I, 220.

cannot tell if there was any connexion between the two incidents.[1] Again in 1475 an attempt was made on the life of a burgomaster.[2]. Before the year 1477 there are few instances recorded of the men of Antwerp taking arms against their Prince. In this respect they differed very much from their neighbours. Guicciardini, writing about the middle of the sixteenth century, says that the inhabitants of Antwerp boasted that the town had never revolted against its lawful Prince, and that if reminded of what happened after the Battle of Nancy they would say that this revolt was not directed against Mary of Burgundy, but against the Magistrates for the delinquencies of which they had been guilty. It is difficult to see what other course the rising of 1477 would have taken other than it did if it had been aroused more by hostility to the Ducal Court than by grievances against the Magistrates, but Mary was well received when she came to the town, and her emissaries were not ill-treated even when they were paid little attention. The people had no desire for any other sovereign, but only that the grievous yoke of Charles the Bold might be made lighter, and they had every reason to suppose that under a weaker rule wars would be fewer, taxes lighter, and commerce less disturbed.

Ghent had risen on the 4th of March, Brussels on the 11th of March, and the wave spread through Flanders and Brabant. The rising at Antwerp was known as the "Quaede Weerelt" or "Quaey Wereld" (Evil World) and the extreme party in it were called Kryters. After some preliminary warnings the outbreak began on Sunday evening, the 17th of March, St. Gertrude's Day.[3] A tumult arose, the commons (Gemeynte) armed themselves and rushed to the Market Place. The Town House and several private houses were invaded and several Magistrates arrested, the most noteworthy being Heer Peter van den Werve, Buiten-Burgomaster; Heer Hendrik van den Werve, Binnen-Burgomaster; Heer Jan van Ranst; Nicolas van der Voort, Peter van der Voort, and Willem van Riethoven.

The prime movers of the outburst were the Ambachten or Trade Guilds of the Mariners and the Mercers, but the other guilds as well as the more substantial citizens made common cause with them. Their hatred was chiefly directed against the brothers Peter and Nicolas van der Voort, the Treasurers, and Willem van Riethoven, the Rentmaster. The prisoners were at first confined to the guild-houses of the Mercers and Mariners, but were moved to the other guild-houses and the Fishmongers' Tower, so that they might be more carefully guarded, while the guilds "lay at their guild-houses for five or six weeks drinking

[1] Papebrochius, II, 92, 95, and Van Heyst, Boek der Tyden, 212.
[2] "Chronycke Van Nederlant," de Weert, p. 79.
[3] For the following incidents see Génard, "De Gebroeders van der Voort, etc.," M. & T., Papebrochius, Bertrijn, and Boek der Tyden.

beer on which no excise had been paid," and during this time no work was done.

On the 18th of March those Magistrates who were still at liberty published an Ordinance intended to quiet the streets, especially after dark; each householder was ordered to hang a light before his dwelling at nightfall, and all who were not poorters or members of any guild were forbidden to walk abroad after eight o'clock. On the 20th of March it was ordered in the name of the Magistrates and the town that all the municipal officials were to appear before the Magistrates and the deans of the guilds were to give account of their dealings.

The complaint against the imprisoned Magistrates was that they had acted corruptly, had cheated the town for their own benefit, and abused their high offices. Evidently the Bench of Magistrates had been corrupted by individual members of it, and embezzlement of the town's money and property had taken place. Several of the prisoners were convicted by the Vierschare. But the removal and conviction of unworthy rulers of the town was not the only object of those who had created the uproar. Up to this time the body of Magistrates had been chosen in practice only from the noble and patrician families, but Mary of Burgundy was not in a position to maintain the old order, and yielding to the solicitations of the rebellious citizens she authorized Jacob Wielant, the Under-Schout, and Jan van Halmale to appoint a new Bench of Magistrates drawn half from the patrician families and half from the commons. The result of this was (25th of April, St. Mark's Day) that Jan van Halmale became Buiten-Burgomaster, Jan Pels, the dean of the Mariners' Ambacht, became Binnen-Burgomaster, and the members of the guilds were fully represented among the skepyns. The trial of the magistrates dragged on into the following year when Maximilian took them out of prison and restored some to their honours: but the chief delinquents were dealt with more speedily. The trial of the brothers Van der Voort and Willem van Riethoven began on the 23rd of March. They were called on to give an account of the proceeds of the excise on beer, which it was said the two brothers had bought secretly. It was also charged against them that they had sold offices with the concurrence of Chancellor Hugonet, that they had plotted to deprive the town of privileges (though we do not know in what way), and had embezzled money belonging to the town. If these charges had been proved, death would have been the penalty. It was imputed against Willem van Riethoven that he had caused the excise on beer to be increased, but we know nothing of the particulars of the charge.

As soon as Mary heard of the rising she dispatched Hendrik van Horn, Heer van Perwez, in hopes of quieting the people. This nobleman was popular with the commons and had great

influence, but the Kryters would not listen to him, so he retired for the time, but returned on the 3rd of April with a body of mounted troops. While he was in the town or the neighbourhood the Kryters were overawed, but on his departure they hastened to push their designs further, and the examination of the chief prisoners was urged on. On the 10th of April further members of the Bench of Magistrates were arrested: some of whom were speedily released, but others, including Adriaen Stedinck, who was associated with van Riethoven in the charges concerning the excise on beer, were kept in custody. On the 18th of April the two brothers were led to the house of the Under-Schout, Jacob Wielant, and Peter was severely tortured, but Nicolas was only laid on the rack. On the next day both suffered the same experience, and on the 21st of the same month the like befell Willem van Riethoven, Adriaen Stedinck, and Jan van Houbraken, chief of the Town Account Office (Rentmeesters Cnape).

The Under-Schout—the only representative of the Duchess who appears to have been in the town—sided entirely with the Kryters.

The victims of torture almost always confessed to the charge, or at least were said to have done so. On the 23rd of April, van Riethoven was tortured again for two hours, but added nothing to what he had previously disclosed, and when he left the rack he had not incriminated himself so far as to merit death.

Up to this time no tribunal seems to have sat to hear the evidence against these prisoners, and the torturing which had been inflicted was totally illegal according to the Customs. As we have seen, the new College of Magistrates came into existence on the 25th of April, and, whether it was a legally competent body or not, it immediately opened the trial of the chief prisoners. We are told of no evidence given against the brothers Van der Voort, but only of their own confessions, not made under torture, but willingly before the Vierschare; and we do not know what they had previously confessed on the rack. According to these confessions they had improperly benefited themselves through their offices—but it may not have been to a very large extent—and, worst of all in the eyes of the poorters, they had entertained schemes which would have led to the destruction of the privileges of the town. The prosecution was taken up by the guilds, but so fearful were they lest the Bench of Magistrates, which had been formed with special pains to please them, would do justice rather than conform to their will, that on the day on which sentence was to be passed (1st of May) they stood round the Court in the Burg under arms from eight in the morning until three in the afternoon. The Vierschare did not find the accused deserving of death (though presumably

guilty of what they confessed), but dared not acquit them in face of the armed men outside. The sentence passed by Willem Van der Heyden was that their fate should be left to the commons to decide.

On the 4th of May the Guilds sat in their guild-houses on the Market Place and the Magistrates came to them and begged for the lives of the two Treasurers, but the Kryters had their way and on the following day the brothers were condemned by the Vierschare to death and forfeiture of their goods. The execution took place on the 6th of May on the Market Place. It was usual on such occasions to erect a scaffold before the Town House, but for this execution such a platform as was needed was brought into the square on a waggon and there the prisoners were beheaded, while the guildsmen stood round in arms. In the evening the bodies were conveyed to the cloister of the Dominicans and there buried. On the 7th of May Willem van Riethoven was fined by the Vierschare; we are told of no evidence against him except what he admitted under torture, which was to the effect that he had wrongfully employed money belonging to the town in bribing Hugonet and Humbercourt, the Lords of the Parlement and other influential persons. A few days later, Adriaen Stedinck and Jan van Houbraken were also fined.

In the meantime, made anxious by the lengths to which the Kryters were going, Mary sent to the town Adolphe of Cleves, as well as the Heer van Perwez, and Jonkheer Gaspar van Kuilenburg, who arrived on the 9th of May; but they could do nothing for the release of the Magistrates and had to be content with an account given them by the commons of their charges against them and of the evidence which had been collected to warrant their prosecution.

On the 20th of May van Riethoven was condemned to a penance—to go in his linen shirt from the Steen, where he was imprisoned, to the Chapel of St. James in the Kipdorp, carrying a lighted taper and there to beg for the forgiveness of the commons—but he was to return to the Steen, and there he remained until the 9th of August, when he was given leave to go to his own house or to the cloister of the Franciscans, but nowhere else.

The details of this rising against the Magistrates are so meagre that it is impossible to form an adequate conception of the extent to which certain of the officials had deviated from the paths of honesty and duty. The discontent in the town, however, not only led to those violent scenes in which the Magistrates were expelled from their offices and called to account, but we find that the other great ruling force in the town, namely the Chapter of Canons of the Church of Our Lady, had incurred displeasure, which could be appeased only by the weakening of their authority and power, and by obtaining a more adequate discharge of the duties entrusted to them. There had never

been more than one parish church with full rights, namely, that of Our Lady.[1] At the beginning of the fourteenth century, at the request of the Magistrates, two new parishes had been set up in the suburbs, namely for the Chapels of St. George and St. Willebrord, but the right to baptize was reserved to the Mother Church. Soon afterwards the Chapel of St. George was included within the town walls.

In the middle of the fifteenth century the Chapter granted to the Church of St. Willebrord the right to baptize children born in that parish, but the same full rights were withheld from St. George's, so in the year 1477 the chief Church, that of Our Lady, and St. Willebrord's, outside the walls, were the only two possessing the right to perform all the offices of a parish church. Certain privileges were granted to St. Walburga's, in the Burg, but neither to this church nor to St. George's Chapel was conceded the right to baptize, and the former might not administer extreme unction. The citizens must seek from the Mother Church such religious comforts as their parish churches were compelled to deny them. The Chapter naturally was loath to concede to other churches the right to administer sacraments, which was their monopoly, and brought great wealth to their treasury. The whole of the earlier history of the town shows the combat maintained by the Chapter to preserve for themselves these sources of wealth and to keep in their own hands the spiritual lordship of the town.

In 1477 the citizens demanded the establishment of more parishes and the granting of full rights to those already existing. The town being then in great commotion, it seemed an opportune moment for all to ask for what they needed. The population of the town had been growing rapidly, and for some years the size of the Church of Our Lady had been quite inadequate at festivals, indeed, the rebuilding of it had long been in progress but was advancing very slowly; and the complainants added that it was a grievous thing to have to look to the Mother Church for baptism and extreme unction, and to carry thither the dead for burial. So the Magistrates joined with the parishioners of St. George's and of St. Walburga's, and the people who lived near the little Chapel of St. James, in the demand that the Chapel of St. James should be made into a parish church with full rights, that St. George's should be granted the right to baptize, and St. Walburga's the right to baptize and administer extreme unction, with the right of burial.

With regard to St. James's and St. George's, the Chapter easily complied save that they would not grant the right to offer wax candles and the like therein at the baptism of children and the purification of women and on such occasions. Owing to its proximity to the Mother Church the Chapter for some time

[1] Diercxsens, III, for the following pages.

opposed the demand with regard to St. Walburga's, and it did not become a parish church until 1479; so by that year we find five parishes: the Church of Our Lady for the central town, St. Walburga's for the north, St. James's for the east, St. George's for the south with the southern suburb, and St. Willebrord's for both the east and the north suburbs.

Another long-standing grievance, which the Antwerpers were able at this time to adjust, was that concerning the right of access to the Wharf or main quay which lay before the old Burg. All through the fifteenth century those using the Wharf had complained of the inconvenience caused by their having to go to it by the gates of the Burg. In 1410 free access had been guaranteed to the merchants and their merchandise, but nothing had been done to carry the promises into effect, and in 1477 on the 24th of April the wall of the Burg was broken down by the Kryters and a bridge made over the moat so that the Wharf could be approached as it is now by the rue du Sac. Many ships were then discharging their cargoes at the Wharf, and this hindrance which had been offered to the mariners in their business may well have been one of the causes which threw their important guild into revolt.

The Great Privilege which Mary had granted at Ghent in February to all the Provinces had left each at liberty to extort what it desired at the time of the official reception of the Duchess, and so at her entrance into Louvain (29th of May) as Duchess of Brabant, new liberties had been granted to the subjects and greater restrictions had been placed on the ducal power. On the 18th of June in the evening she made her "Joyous Entry" into Antwerp, as Duchess of Brabant and Margravine of the Holy Roman Empire, and lanterns were hung before most of the houses. She was accompanied by Adolphe of Cleves and a few only of the Netherland nobles. She had no choice but to grant an amnesty binding on herself, her heirs and successors for all that had been done during the "Quaey Wereld" and a confirmation of the sentences passed on the magistrates. She was well received by the people and they rejoiced in the news that the negotiations for her marriage with Maximilian were completed.

These summer months of 1477 were not, however, devoted solely to the adjusting of grievances, for no sooner had Mary granted the Great Privilege of February than patriotism reappeared among the Netherlanders and men took the field to withstand the French King's invasion; nor did Antwerp remain aloof.

On the 16th of May and for twenty-one days the Alarm Bell was rung twice daily at Antwerp, and throughout Brabant, to call men to readiness, and the town banner, bearing the arms of the town, was set up at the Town House and each guild set up

its banner at its guild-house on the Market Place,[1]—for Louis had surprised Arras—and the town became busy with warlike preparations. The merchants and traders were suffering from the hostilities, for Louis had posted ships at the mouth of the Scheldt to intercept shipping, and the menace of the French, who had got possession of Tournai, was felt by the Flemish towns to be so severe that they had to take steps to keep every available citizen within their walls for their defence, which necessarily diminished the concourse of people at the Antwerp Fairs.

In June, while Mary was still in the town, some eighty men marched out to the suburbs, well armed and provided, and on the next day they were joined by the Military Guilds, but having proved their own patriotism to this extent they refused to march further unless joined by the nobles, so there in the suburbs they lay and drank and made merry for six days until the nobles joined them, and then under command of Jan van Immerseel they marched to Soignies in Hainaut.[1]

Until the coming of Maximilian the nobles showed themselves half-hearted for the Burgundian cause, but it must be remembered that they had suffered so terribly in Charles's wars that another century had begun before they were restored to their former splendour.

The war went against the Netherlanders and the Flemings suffered a severe reverse at the end of June under the walls of Tournai. But contingents continued to march from Antwerp, and at the end of July the men of Antwerp evacuated Soignies, which had been their base, and marching under Jan van Immerseel joined the army of Flanders, Brabant, and the Walloon provinces, and laid siege to St. Amand. They carried the little town by storm on the 1st of August, and plundered it, and Jan van Immerseel received the banner of St. Amand as his share of the spoil and sent it to Antwerp, where it was long preserved. In spite of a few successes of the Netherlanders the French were devastating the country up to a few leagues of Ghent, when in the middle of August Maximilian made his way to that town to meet his bride.

Louis was uncertain as to the prospects of his army in the future and allowed it to fall back, and on the 18th of September entered into the Truce of Lens, which, although it did not put an end to skirmishing on the frontier, at least gave Maximilian time to visit the Provinces and prepare himself for the coming struggle.

The Archduke Maximilian was the only son of the Emperor Frederick III ; he was at this time eighteen years old and his mind extraordinarily undeveloped. He was so poor that the expenses of his journey had to be defrayed by his new subjects. This alliance had been dear to the heart of Charles the Bold, and, although Mary had never seen the young Archduke, it

[1] Bertrijn.

was believed by the people that she preferred him to all others who had been suggested as her consort. At Antwerp the Austrian marriage was well received because it renewed the ties which bound the old Duchy of Lower Lorraine to the Empire and prevented the possibility of conquest by France and the setting of a Rhenish Prince on the ducal throne of Brabant. It has been said that the death of Charles the Bold at Nancy may be considered to have been the cause of all the wars that have arisen ever since. No less important to the history of Belgium was this marriage, which was one of its first results. As a consequence of it a national dynasty became impossible until modern times, for Maximilian succeeded to his father's crown and only lived in the Netherlands until summoned to take up the vast Habsburg heritage, and in the future of this heritage, whether good or bad, these Provinces had to share, and more than ever before were they to be affected by European politics.

On the 16th of July Heer Jan van Halmale, Buiten-Burgomaster, and Master Willem Bode, with forty eminent citizens all clad alike, and many merchants, all on horseback, had journeyed to Cologne to welcome the bridegroom. It seemed that only through him could the Netherlands be saved from Louis. Molinet here surpasses even the usual flights of the chroniclers when speaking of the House of Burgundy. The Emperor becomes as God the Father, who, by means of a Virgin named Mary of royal lineage, sends his only son to save the Netherlands; and when he came, he says, those that walked in darkness saw a great light which lighted those who lived in the shadow of death. Maximilian entered Ghent on the 18th of August and the marriage was performed on the following day.

When the Truce of Lens (18th of September) was concluded, Maximilian and Mary proceeded to visit the towns, but they had not completed the circuit of those in Flanders before Mary realized that the continuous journey would be too great a strain on her health. So while Maximilian went through Hainaut and the rest of Brabant she waited for him at Antwerp. Great preparations were made for her reception with every mark of love and affection. A procession went to meet her, all bearing lighted torches, and the archers of the guilds conducted her to the Convent of St. Michael, where she lodged.

Adolphe of Cleves rode beside her with her ladies-in-waiting, and a considerable number of nobles went in her train. The distinguished company passed the evening gaily at a banquet, but before sitting down to it, Mary visited the tomb of her mother, Isabella of Portugal, second wife of Charles the Bold, who had died at Antwerp in 1465, and was buried in the Abbey of St. Michael.[1] At the foot of the tomb she knelt in prayer. She

[1] The monument of the tomb is now behind the High Altar in the Church of Our Lady. See p. 116.

rejoined her husband at Bois-le-Duc, and it was not until Christmas-time that she returned with him to Antwerp on the occasion of his making his "Joyous Entry." They were met by magistrates and commons and conducted to St. Michael's, where a feast had been prepared.

On the 14th of January the Archduke swore to maintain the Privileges of the Margraviate. A platform had been erected before the Town House hung on the outside with rich tapestry and on the inside with silks and cloth of the finest quality. The armorial bearings of the Duke of Brabant were hung with those of the Margrave of the Empire on each side. Maximilian, accompanied by Mary, mounted the platform and stood between the Heer van Cruybeke, Bastard of Brabant, the newly appointed Schout, and Conrad Pot; and the Privileges of the Margraviate of the Holy Roman Empire having been read to him, he swore to maintain them; then the commons raised their hands and swore to remain faithful to their sovereigns and to defend them against their enemies. This ceremony was followed by a banquet given by the Schout at his house and costly presents were given to the Archduke and Duchess on behalf of the town.

In spite of the Truce of Lens hostilities on the frontier had not entirely ceased and it was necessary to keep a considerable force in the field. In the early part of the year a body of Antwerpers were reviewed in the garden of the Military Guilds before the Schout, Heer van Cruybeke, and then they marched under command of Geert van Eyck, one of the magistrates who had been imprisoned during the tumult. In the following March they captured the town of Bersa on the borders of France and Hainaut.

But for a few weeks Maximilian felt sufficiently secure from French attack to punish the leaders of the "Quaey Wereld." Already in the autumn he had foreshadowed what his line of conduct would be. When the day came (St. Andrew's Day, the 30th of November) for the renewing of the Bench of Magistrates, he had charged the commissioners to reinstate several of the magistrates who had been imprisoned by the Kryters. Another step towards the re-establishment of the old order was the appointment of Heer van Cruybeke, Bastard of Brabant, to be Schout of the town. During the "Quaey Wereld" we hear nothing of the Schout. The measures taken by Maximilian show that he drew little distinction between risings against the Magistrates of the town and those against the Prince. A few days after his inauguration, a mercer, a mariner, and a smith, all leaders of the rising, were banished from the Margraviate for ten years and ordered to go on pilgrimages to St. Andrew's in Scotland, to Nicosia in Cyprus, and to Milan respectively; and Maximilian released Willem van Riethoven from the oath which

bound him to stay only in his own house or in the Cloister of the Franciscans, and he retired to live at Mechlin.

On the 28th of April Maximilian caused a Peace to be sworn between the magistrates who had been arrested and the commons, but to mark his sense of disapproval of the execution of the two brothers Van der Voort, he compelled the town to erect a monument to their memory in the Cloister of the Dominicans and to make provision for their widows and children. The Peace, however, did not quite end the matter, for in August four mariners were beheaded, who, according to Bertrijn, had been the leaders of the late tumults and were thought to be plotting further disturbance. They were beheaded on the 19th of August before the Town House.

One chronicler [1] relates that while Maximilian was in Antwerp some traitors were arrested who had planned to poison the wells, and were sent to Rupelmonde and executed there.

At the end of April Maximilian held a Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Bruges, and the fêtes in connexion with it were hardly at an end when news came that Louis had recommenced hostilities by laying siege to Condé. Maximilian hurried to the seat of war, and proved himself energetic in defence of his wife's dominions, but it was the revival of patriotism and national feeling among nobles and people which made for the success of the campaign. The Truce published at Arras on the 11th of July, 1478, was ill received by the Netherlanders, for they felt that all was going in their favour.

On the 5th of March, 1479, the States-General met in the monastery of the Dominicans at Antwerp and sat for five weeks. Maximilian presided and many prelates, abbots, and nobles attended as well as deputies of all the Provinces—even the Land of Liége.

During the first half of 1479 recruiting had been urged on throughout the country. On the 2nd of May the Standard was set up at the Town House and artillery was brought out into the Market Place, and tents were prepared. On the 28th of June a contingent went into Luxemburg, under the command of Jan van Ranst, and again on the 11th of July a review was held in the Guilds' Garden before Philip van Cruybeke, and on the next day the men, to the number of 250, marched to Namur under Geert van Eyck.

On the 28th of July the Brabanters met with successes in Luxemburg and Jan van Ranst greatly distinguished himself. On the 6th of September Jan van Ranst returned from Luxemburg to Antwerp with his men. It is remarkable that Jan van Ranst as well as Geert van Eyck, after having been imprisoned by the Kryters only two years before, have now the complete confidence of their fellow-townsmen and lead them in the field.

[1] "Chronique des Faits et Gestes," etc., p. 133.

Maximilian's army had been collected at Antwerp. The Flemings had green and white uniforms, the Brabanters and Walloons red and white, and the Hollanders and Zelanders blue and white, and all bore the Burgundian cross on their breasts. Among the leaders we find the Antwerp Knights, Karel van Immerseel, Joos van Berchem, Willem van Lierre, and Conrad Pot.[1] The campaign was successful and ended with the victory at Guinegate (7th of August) at which several Antwerpers distinguished themselves. A messenger galloped full speed to Bruges where Mary waited for the news, and the Burgomaster announced it amidst signs of great joy among the people, and the tidings were sent on to Antwerp and other towns with orders that festivities should be held in honour of the victory, and a procession was held on the following day.[2]

Maximilian was not in command of his army at the battle, and it is hard to say how much blame rests on him for not turning the victory to better account. It is true that outbreaks in the Northern Provinces turned away his thoughts, but his want of vigour in this campaign against France showed the Flemings he was not the leader they needed and his popularity began to wane. Circumstances, too, were against him, notably in a matter which fell out in Antwerp in 1481. The year had been occupied by military operations in Guelders, Holland, Zeland, and Utrecht—Jan van Ranst, the new Schout of Antwerp, in command of men of that town had assisted in the taking of Leyden from the Hooks or popular party always opposed to the House of Burgundy.[3] The campaign had been successful, and it was after the town of Venloo had fallen into his hands that Maximilian returned in the autumn to Antwerp.

There was a man who through his popularity among the Flemings and his experience both as a statesman and as a soldier could of all others save the country from conquest and anarchy. This man was a Flemish nobleman, Jan of Dadizeele, Grand Bailiff of Ghent.[4] He had come to Antwerp at this time for the fair. On the evening of the 7th of October he was returning after supper to his lodging when he was set upon by four or five men armed with swords and left half dead in the street. He died three days later. Maximilian hastened to his bedside, after ordering the gates of the town to be closed, and proclaimed by herald that none should shelter the murderers and that a reward of 1,000 crowns would be given for information as to their identity.

In the public mind this had been the work of the Lord of Montigny and the Bastard of Gaesbeke, who were both related

[1] M. &. T., III, p. 275.
[2] "Chronique des Faits et Gestes," pp. 228, 249, etc.
[3] Reygersberg, 1.
[4] Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Histoire de Flandre," V, p. 324.

to the Lord of Gaesbeke and accomplices on some private quarrel, and so incensed were the Ghenters that they banished the Lord of Gaesbeke and several other nobles for the deed. Popular indignation, especially among the Ghenters, who had a great affection for Jan of Dadizeele, ran high against the Archduke for not arresting the suspects, for he was thought to be shielding them, and the arrest of certain burghers of Bruges who seemed totally unconnected with the crime was regarded as a blind. Although by the death of Jan of Dadizeele he lost a servant it was impossible to replace, the incident tended to set the Flemings still more against Maximilian. The chronicler Pontus Heuterus, however, sees in Dadizeele only a turbulent and seditious man, an enemy of Maximilian and the leader of the late insurrection at Ghent and for this reason popular with the people.[1]

Matters stood thus between Maximilian and his subjects when in the following year (27th of March, 1482) Mary of Burgundy died as the result of a fall from her horse while hunting near Bruges. She left two young children, Philip and Margaret. By the marriage contract of 1477 the Burgundian possessions went to Mary's son Philip, and Maximilian could claim no interest in them; but this did not prevent his immediately putting forward a claim to be Regent and Guardian. This the Flemings from the first refused to admit.

Louis was now anxious for peace, and failing the assistance of the Flemish levies Maximilian saw himself compelled to enter into the negotiations which culminated in the Treaty of Arras (23rd of December, 1482) between Louis, himself, Philip, and the Towns. The cry of the Flemings against Maximilian was that he was a foreigner surrounded by German courtiers who would rob Philip of his inheritance. On the 10th of January, 1483, Philip was inaugurated at Ghent and a Council of Regency appointed.

The States of Holland, Zeland, Hainaut, Namur, and Limburg quickly recognized his right to be Regent, but those of Brabant hesitated and seem to have been less than lukewarm about his cause. In 1483 the States-General met at Louvain and the deputies from Flanders endeavoured to persuade the others to stand by them in opposing Maximilian's will. Not being able to come to a conclusion the deputies of Brabant obtained leave to retire to Mechlin, a town which strongly favoured Maximilian, and there discuss what their attitude should be. Maximilian seems to have had little doubt as to what conclusion they would arrive at, for on the 7th of May he arrested all of them and sent them to the Castle of Vilvoorde. Those of Louvain were set free, but those of Brussels and Antwerp were either banished or executed. Amongst the latter were the

[1] Pontus Heuterus, Rerum Belgicarum Libri Quindecim, p. 100.

Buiten-Burgomaster of Antwerp, Jan Colgensone, and the chief secretary, René Boydens, who were beheaded, much to the sorrow of their fellow-townsmen. At the same time the Binnen-Burgomaster, Nicolas de Schermere, was imprisoned at Ghent, where he died.

Maximilian soon afterwards returned to Antwerp, and entering it in great pomp summoned before him the Magistrates and the deans of the guilds and explained to them what had caused him to take these severe steps, but his words are not recorded.[1] As poorters of Antwerp these men were amenable to justice before the Magistrates of Antwerp. In view of subsequent events which proved that the people of Antwerp were willing to support Maximilian even when almost all others turned against him, it may well be that their views were not those of their deputies, also the Buiten-Burgomaster, Jan Colgensone, had represented the town at the deliberations which led to the Treaty of Arras, so detested by Maximilian, and there is no evidence that the Antwerpers desired this Treaty.[2]

During the spring and summer of 1483, Maximilian had been much occupied with a fresh outbreak of the Hooks in Utrecht. When order had been restored to this province he heard the news of the death of Louis, which deprived the Flemings of their only support and encouraged Maximilian to throw to the winds all agreements he had made with them with regard to the Regency. For some time he had made Antwerp his headquarters; here he was well received and its central position and ever-increasing commercial importance commended it as the town where he could best mature and execute his plans. In October he dissolved the Council of Regency by sound of trumpet at the fair at Antwerp. Either Maximilian had eradicated all opposition in Antwerp to his claims to the Regency, if any had ever existed, or the citizens had come to realize that it was to their advantage to support him against Flanders.

The tumultuous state of the Flemish towns encouraged the people of Antwerp to hope for even greater prosperity. Many poorters and others of Bruges had already encountered financial disaster which (about 1480) had caused them to flee from their debts and go into Zeland and elsewhere. Holland and Zeland were inheriting much of the sea-carrying trade, but Antwerp took the lion's share of all the Flemish towns lost. The war which Maximilian waged, supported at first by the greater part of Brabant and the rest of the Netherlands, against the Flemish towns, marks another step by which the glory of the latter came to be diffused over other parts of the Provinces. Bertrijn's Chronicle dates the downfall of Bruges from 1485, the year in which the Flemings tried and failed to close the Scheldt to ships

[1] Génard, II. 230, and Bertrijn, p. 47.
[2] Gachard, "Lettres inédites de Maximilien," Brussels, 1851, p. 130.

going up to Antwerp. The sudden friendship evinced by Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres for Louis is easily accounted for when we find that shortly after the Treaty of Arras the French King was helping them in selfish designs conceived to hinder any of their fellow-subjects becoming their trade rivals.

The Antwerpers seem to have realized that a strong central government which could ensure peace was necessary for their well-being if international commerce was to be maintained, and they supported the Archduke to attain this end, thereby profiting themselves to the utmost instead of squandering their strength in dashing themselves against the Habsburg power as did their exhausted Flemish rivals. It must be remembered that besides the refusal to admit his claim to the Regency, Maximilian had suffered greatly at the hands of the Flemings and he continued so to do. The Ghenters had got possession of Philip, and in the spring of 1483 Margaret had gone to France to be educated there in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Arras.[1]

In February 1484, Maximilian invaded Flanders with his German mercenaries, but did not push the campaign forward until the autumn. In the meantime the Flemings set themselves to ruin the commercial prosperity of all who adhered to the Archduke, and immediately sent ships out from Sluis armed with cannon which made daily attacks on the islands of Zeland and plundered all who were opposed to them.[2] But it was the growing importance of the Antwerp Fairs which particularly aroused their jealousy, and in the hope of ruining that to be held in September they proclaimed in several different places that a similar fair would be held at the same time at Bruges, and it was ordered that none should go to Antwerp to sell or buy, but all such business must be done at Bruges, where they might carry out transactions exactly as they could if at Antwerp. Not content with this they began in August the construction of a fort on Kloppersdyke, on the Flemish bank of the Scheldt, between Calloo and Saftingen at a league's distance from Antwerp, and put cannon in it and a garrison.[3] This was an even more effectual means of injuring their rivals than setting up fairs at Bruges and they spoiled all who came up or down.

However, the fair at Antwerp took place, though we may suppose with a much smaller concourse of merchants than usual, and that at Bruges was not very successful. The Flemings might complain that the fairs and commerce of Antwerp were beginning to threaten their own prerogatives, but it was, so far

[1] Olivier de la Marche remembered that Maximilian resembled St. Eustace when a wolf carried off his son and a lion his daughter: III, 265.

[2] Reygersbergh, 1.

[3] Most of the chronicles mention the incident. There is a doubt as to when the fort was actually begun; perhaps not until 1485. The authorities disagree. Probably it was begun in the summer of 1484 and destroyed in the following year.

as the period of these few years is concerned, the disturbed state of the Flemish towns which forced merchants to depart. The chroniclers tell how at this time the merchants went from Bruges and Sluis with their merchandise to Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Middleburg, Armuyden, and Veere, where they might carry on their business in peace and quiet, and the men of Middleburg, Armuyden, Veere, and Flushing made forts to keep off the mariners of Sluis who sailed about on the Scheldt to pillage where they could.[1] In face of these attacks by the Flemings, the Brabanters threw themselves into the war with a better spirit than before, and supplying him with men and money enabled Maximilian to meet with rapid successes. In November he seized Termonde by a stratagem, and Oudenarde in January 1485. The former town commanded the Scheldt and if in the enemy's hands was a menace to both Antwerp and Mechlin. The capture of Oudenarde was important as it lay between Ghent and help which might be sent from France.

In October, Charles VIII had made a treaty with the Flemish towns, but internal affairs prevented his rendering them any assistance. At this time they reckoned that they could put into the field 150,000 fighting men between the ages of eighteen and seventy,[2] but the day of citizen-armies such as had won at Courtrai was past, and Maximilian's trained German lance-knights took town after town, ravaging and plundering the country as they went. The Flemish ships robbing in the mouth of the Scheldt and the fort on Kloppersdyke had so injured the trade of Antwerp during the winter that its ruin seemed imminent, and representations to this effect were made to the Archduke. We are not told when the fort was completed, perhaps during the previous autumn. The force of the river would prevent any solid construction being erected during the winter actually in the stream to render it impassable, but great pieces of wood were fastened together in the early spring in form of a boom.

On hearing the request of the Antwerpers for assistance Maximilian sent some of his German troops to the town, and these, together with the armed guilds and other Antwerpers, went out on St. George's Day (23rd of April, 1485) under the command of the Schout, Jan van Ranst. They must have taken the fort by storm, for every defender who was not killed in battle was hanged to a tree, and the victors returned home with the captured cannon and forty-eight ships as well as pieces of the boom, which they brought, as tradition says Brabo brought the hand of Antigonus, to show the citizens that the Scheldt was free again, and they rejoiced, says Molinet, as much over these fragments as if they had been holy relics. To show the town's gratitude to the patron saint of the day a procession was held and the statue of St. George carried through the streets, and it

[1] Reygersbergh, I. [2] Pirenne, III. 40.

was decreed that it should be so each year on St. George's Day to commemorate the event. But for some weeks the citizens felt the inconveniences of the war. The men of Sluis continued to pillage Antwerp ships at the mouth of the Scheldt or those of Holland and Zeland, and on the 16th of May they even captured Flushing and sacked it. This town, which became of so much importance when the improvements in artillery enabled it to close the Scheldt at its will and cut Antwerp off from the sea, was then an unwalled town.

Details bearing on Antwerp in these days are meagre, but we read that plunder sometimes came from Flanders to be put up for sale. For instance, in the spring of 1485, just after Maximilian had taken Oudenarde, his Walloon troops refused to march longer with him as their pay was in arrear. The Archduke was too well accustomed to being in need of money to be disconcerted by such an occurrence, and shouldering a pike like a foot-soldier he led his Germans into the Land of Waes, where they took great booty of horned beasts and drove them to Antwerp and sold them there. By such means he replenished his purse.[1] This may be the same booty which came in May from Flanders—5,000 cows, 2,000 sheep, 300 horses—and was sold at St. Michael's Cloister, where Maximilian lodged.[2] The historians, Mertens and Torfs, quote from a chronicle that the prisoners of war taken in Flanders were sold at Antwerp by the German mercenaries and the sutlers, and that the burghers bought them for the purpose of releasing them, and supplied them with food.[3]

The discipline of the Archduke's German troops was too much for the Flemings, and Bruges and Ghent both fell in the first days of June. Peace was concluded on the 28th of June and the Flemings recognized Maximilian as Regent, and having now established his claims to be received in this capacity throughout the Netherlands, he prepared to go into Germany to arrange for his election as King of the Romans. Before starting he moved Philip's Court from Ghent to the more peaceful town of Mechlin, and, after a visit to Utrecht, spent some days in Antwerp arranging how the money might be raised for the expenses of his election.

In November he went to Germany and was elected, and was crowned King of the Romans in the spring of 1486; then he returned to the Netherlands. The loyalty to Maximilian which the men of Antwerp had evinced had been well rewarded by the ascendancy the town had gained; the Archduke, now King of the Romans, had been pleased to honour her by frequently holding his Court there, which brought money into the pockets of the inhabitants, and the future seemed to have even better

[1] Olivier de la Marche, III, 272.
[2] Bertrijn, p. 48.
[3] M. & T., III, 290.

things in store. Nothing hindered the town's becoming the chief port in the Netherlands, or even in the north of Europe, excepting the depredations of the Flemings by land and water. The new King of the Romans was well-disposed towards the men of Antwerp and would no doubt bestow some great benefits on them in return for their loyalty, and he was now strong enough to enforce order in Flanders and clear the Scheldt of robbers.[1] Therefore they welcomed him on the 3rd of July with the greatest joy, and a splendid procession went before him through streets hung with the richest stuffs, the sentiments of the people being set forth by tableaux on stages along the route. Not in the time of any living Brabanter had the Duke of Brabant been a King. The summer was too far advanced for him to stay more than four nights in the town, for he had preparations in hand for another campaign against the French. In the summer he led into France the fine army of German mercenaries which he had prepared, but he met with no success to warrant the campaign.

In the autumn Antwerp received the honour of a visit from Frederick III. The aged Emperor entered the town in October accompanied by Maximilian and Philip. He sat in a carriage drawn by ten white horses, and a canopy of cloth-of-gold was held above his head by representatives of the town, who with the Magistrates had met him at the barrier outside St. George's Gate. There was a double need for his presence in the Netherlands—firstly, Charles VIII might see that he would support his son in his campaigns, and secondly, it was well that some signal mark of approval should be shown of the support given to the Habsburg cause by the loyal towns. He was profuse in his thanks for all the town of Antwerp had done. All three Princes lodged at St. Michael's Abbey. The town gave him rich presents and on his part the Emperor confirmed the privileges to the town given by Sigismund and other Emperors respecting the fairs.

During the same year Maximilian on behalf of Philip granted a charter by which the composition of the College of Magistrates was restored to what it had been before 1477, that is to say, half the skepyns were no longer to be drawn from the guilds, but all from the patricians and substantial burghers or their nominees. Thus in ten years the commons had lost all they had won in the "Quaey Wereld"—and they were again shut out of municipal life. There can be little doubt as to the wisdom of the course taken by Maximilian. The skepyns were the judges in the Vierschare, and in a town of rapidly rising commercial importance it must have been most desirable to fill these offices with the best educated men.[2] The events of 1487 created still

[1] Molinet speaks of Antwerp in regard to Maximilian as being at this time a rich town, "qui toujours l'avoit consolé en ses diverses adversités": III, cxlviii.
[2] M. & T., III, p. 295.

more dissatisfaction in Flanders. An expensive and unprofitable war was carried on against France, and the Netherlands were overrun by foreign mercenaries, and not content with holding the French King for a foe the House of Burgundy seemed to have no fear of a breach with the newly crowned English King, Henry VII. Margaret of York, the widow of Charles the Bold, who still resided at the Burgundian Court, in this year espoused the cause of the Pretender, Lambert Simnel, but little came of it for the time.

The ill-success of the war against France increased the unpopularity of Maximilian among the Flemings. He had broken the Treaty of Arras, which they had planned to keep him and his mercenaries at a distance with the aid of France, and he had made good his claim to the Regency. They saw that his policy was to favour Antwerp in every way while doing nothing for them; it seemed entirely his fault that the Zwyn was empty of ships, that the merchants were departing, that the artisans were unemployed, and that the shopkeepers found no customers. In the autumn of 1487 there was a renewal of the disturbances at Ghent, backed up by Charles VIII.[1] This rising in the languishing commune was entirely different from those of old days when artisans fought for the right to prosper. There was instantly war in Flanders, and the Ghenters, led by their nobles, were soon near the gates of Brussels, Antwerp, and Courtrai. Maximilian hastened to Bruges, where he was seized and held a prisoner throughout the spring of 1488. The brutality of the German mercenaries whom Maximilian had brought with him drove numbers of merchants from Flanders to Antwerp at the time of the Whitsuntide Mart. Indeed in the course of the year so many Flemings fled to Antwerp with their household goods from the villages as well as from Ghent and Bruges that there were not so many in any other town of Brabant.[2]

Nor was it only the mercenaries who were to be feared at Bruges, for still greater terror was inspired among peaceable citizens by the news that the men of Ghent were coming to the town, and it was feared these so-called friends might sack the houses. The merchants asked the Magistrates that safe-conducts should be given them for themselves and their merchandise in the event of a large number being admitted, and for this reason the Magistrates only permitted a handful to enter while the rest remained outside the walls.[3]

It is unnecessary to describe what happened in Bruges during the months Maximilian remained a prisoner. The news of the indignities suffered by the King of the Romans aroused the anger of every crowned head against the Flemings; the Pope placed them under an Interdict and the Emperor under

[1] Pirenne, III. [2] Bertrijn, p. 52.
[3] Molinet, III, clxvi.

the Imperial Ban. Military preparations were made in Brabant and Hainaut by his partisans, and a force under the Schout of Antwerp advanced to the walls of Bruges and entered Sluis, thus cutting Bruges off from the sea.[1]

On the 16th of May, Maximilian signed a Treaty with the Flemish towns and was released. Antwerp had refused to send delegates to the meetings of the States-General at which the terms of the Treaty were drawn up. Maximilian swore to grant an amnesty to the rebellious Flemings, to withdraw the German garrisons, to renounce, as far as Flanders was concerned, the title of Regent, to respect the Treaty which had just been made with the French King, and he appointed Philip of Cleves guarantor of his promises and charged him to assist the Flemings if he did not keep to the bargain.[2] The news that the Archduke had been set at liberty caused great joy at Antwerp and hopes that all would turn to the advantage of the town were encouraged by the arrival of the Emperor in Brabant at the head of an army.

Maximilian joined his father at Louvain and within a few days decided he need not consider himself bound by the oath he had taken at Bruges. This decision forced Philip of Cleves to take arms against him and alienated all his subjects excepting Hainaut and the towns of Antwerp, Mechlin, Lierre, and Bois-le-Duc. Flanders was plunged into a war which for years rendered commerce impossible. Frederick and his son led the army of Germans from Louvain to Mechlin, and crossing the Scheldt at Antwerp invaded Flanders. The Flemings called on the French King to help them, which was a source of great displeasure to the town of Antwerp, but they were quite within their rights in doing so, for the Emperor in crossing the Scheldt was invading lands which were not part of the Empire. The campaign in Flanders went against the Germans.

Before leaving the Netherlands the Emperor went to Antwerp and stayed for six weeks in August and September at the Abbey of St. Michael and there presided over a meeting of the States-General, to which came prelates and deputies from all the towns excepting Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres. The object of summoning the deputies was to arrange peace. The Emperor showed himself very much annoyed at the machinations against his son and even addressed his complaints to them in Flemish. He was attended by Maximilian and a number of German Princes. On the 5th of September, sitting on a platform beneath the sky in his Imperial robes, he placed Philip of Cleves under the Imperial Ban for raising head against Maximilian, in spite of his being bound to do so by the Treaty made with the Flemings on the 16th of May.[3]

[1] J. de Smet, "Mémoire historique sur la guerre de Maximilien," etc., p. 39. and "Die excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen," I, lxviii, folio 240.
[2] Pirenne, III, 48.
[3] Molinet, III, cxciv.

While Frederick and Maximilian were still at Antwerp, Brussels opened her gates to Philip of Cleves and soon the Flemings began to seize waggons of merchandise on their way to Antwerp fairs from the Walloon provinces, and ravage the fields round Antwerp and Mechlin. Certain Hainaut merchants had waited for a long time in Brabant after the close of the fair for an escort and had at length pushed on as far as Alost when Cleves' troops heard of their coming and lay in wait for them on the road between Alost and Ath. As it happened, the merchants were escorted by a number of nobles and deputies on their way back from the meeting of the States-General, soldiers and others, all on their way to Hainaut. The nobles armed as soon as their advance-guard came into touch with the plunderers and the latter received a very severe handling, many being led prisoners to Ath.[1]

After the Emperor's return to Germany, Maximilian went to Zeland to collect ships, and with them he attacked the Flemish coast. An attempt to invade Brabant by Philip of Cleves forced him to fall back on Antwerp. Maximilian and his partisans suffered at sea as well as on land, and from Ostend as well as from Sluis. Nieuport had been friendly and was of service to him in sheltering his ships. The Ostenders, hearing that a fleet carrying treasure and merchandise belonging to him was about to sail from this harbour to Antwerp convoyed by two men of war, prepared a hundred ships of all sorts and captured them all with the treasure and crews and brought them into port.[2]

In February 1489 Maximilian followed his father into Germany, leaving the Duke of Saxony as Governor-General, who had to rely on the help given him by Hainaut and the three Brabant towns, Antwerp, Mechlin, and Bois-le-Duc. In the summer of 1489 Cleves sent French troops, lent by Charles VIII, to ravage the fields round Antwerp and Mechlin, but they were driven off by the Duke of Saxony. Yet so heavily did the loyal towns suffer by sea and land that they had little heart to continue the war. There was much joy, however, when Saxony took the town of Arschot by assault and put some 300 of the French garrison to death.[3] It may have been some satisfaction to the inhabitants of Antwerp to feel that the commerce of Bruges and the Flemish towns was suffering even more than their own during these years, but apart from that the war was a grievous burden on them. The pirates of Sluis made it impossible for ships to go up the Scheldt to Antwerp or Bergen-op-Zoom without an escort, and Flemings from Ostend seized Antwerp ships as they went along the coast.

In July 1489 a Peace was made at Frankfort between

[1] Molinet, III, cxcvii.
[2] "Die excellente Cronike," I, lxviii, folio 260.
[3] Haraeus, ii, 479, and "Corp. Chron. Fland.," III, 734

Charles VIII and Maximilian by which the former, as suzerain, undertook to quiet Flanders; and by the Treaty of Montil-les-Tours he made the communes recognize Maximilian as Regent. To all this Brabant submitted, but Ghent, Bruges, and Philip of Cleves continued to resist, and the men of Sluis, and the Hooks who used that port as a base, continued to act as pirates at the mouth of the Scheldt and render the passage of merchant ships so hazardous that they could not go safely from island to island in Zeland.[1]

In the following year Bruges submitted (Treaty of Damme, the 29th of November, 1490) and Ghent in 1492 (Treaty of Cadzant). So great was the distress in Bruges that many died of want. To hasten the downfall of their foes the Magistrates of Antwerp had forbidden anyone to send victuals into Flanders[2] during the war. Now it only remained to make Philip of Cleves submit. He had got possession of Sluis and had fortified himself and collected such a number of ships that both an army and a fleet were needed to dislodge him. From this safe retreat the Flemings and Hooks spoiled and captured merchants of all nations passing either by sea or land to the mart at Antwerp or into Brabant, Zeland, or elsewhere. A fleet of grain ships belonging to the Hansa merchants had to be escorted by nine ships of war. The Antwerpers equipped five ships to suppress the robbers, and a battle took place in the Scheldt between this fleet and seven ships of Sluis off Armyuden. The fight lasted for three hours, and owing to the assistance of some Portuguese ships on their way to Antwerp, the Sluis fleet was captured.

Besides this those of Sluis had bribed a man to set fire to ships lying at the wharf at Antwerp laden with precious merchandise, but he was discovered and executed. The English merchants suffered so heavily that Henry VII was willing to send a fleet to assist the Duke of Saxony in taking Sluis.[3] During the siege the unfortunate merchants suffered from besieged and besiegers alike. Molinet records that a troop of the latter went off in hopes of finding booty and came upon eight horse-dealers going to the fair at Antwerp with seventy or eighty horses, which they captured.

Philip of Cleves surrendered Sluis on honourable terms on the 12th of October, 1492. Thus ended the long war between Maximilian and the Flemish towns. But Flanders was left in the greatest misery. The fields had been abandoned and wolves devoured the flocks.

In 1493 by the death of his father Maximilian became Emperor, and in the following year he returned to the Netherlands to hand over the Burgundian possessions to his son Philip.

[1] Reygersbergh, lii.
[2] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[3] "Hall's Chronicle," 451, and Gens, 359.

CHAPTER II

THE INCREASE OF TRADE UNDER MAXIMILIAN AND PHILIP THE FAIR

WE have seen that by a series of charters in the first years of the fourteenth century the Duke of Brabant took under his protection all merchants repairing to the fairs held throughout his lands, provided they paid the usual dues, and in 1305 he gave the English special encouragement to make Antwerp their chief centre. Foreign merchants resident in Antwerp had the right not to be interfered with even if war arose between the Duke and the sovereign of their country; at least, they must be given three months in which to depart with their goods. The Company of Merchant Adventurers having been brought into existence in 1407, they at first sent their merchandise to Bruges; but as time went on their principal article of trade became English cloth, which it was futile to take into the centre of the Flemish weaving district, even when that industry was dying, and so they removed first to Middleburg and in 1444 to Antwerp, where they received an extension of privileges.

In 1433 there was enough merchandise going up the Scheldt to induce Philip the Good to place a ship on the Hont to collect tolls, and so the Adventurers on their arrival must have found a considerable trade in progress; but from their coming the commerce of the town increased so rapidly that their arrival, synchronizing as it did with the silting of the Zwyn and the growing unrest in Flanders, largely assisted in laying the foundation of the town's later importance.[1]

At this time the inhabitants took little part in the commerce which was going on around them, excepting to let their houses to the foreign merchants to live in, or for pack-houses, and to make their profit the greater they made themselves content "with some corner" to live in. But soon the inrush of strangers was so great that house-room became scarce, rents were raised, and the Duke and the town both profited much from the increasing income derived from tolls, excise and other duties; and those who at first had been artificers or lived by husbandry and keeping cattle began to grow very rich and to trade on their own account and to build houses as an investment. Within fifty years house-rent became six to eight times as high.[2] Philip

[1] Schanz, I, 7. [2] Wheeler, p. 16, etc.

the Good resorted on four occasions to a protective policy in regard to English cloth, and the Adventurers were driven to Utrecht, but at the Duke's death (1467) they returned gladly to Antwerp, and there they stayed with short intervals for a century.[1] In 1474 the town gave them a house in Bullinckstrate or Wool Street (now Old Bourse) freed from all burdens. They might exchange it for another but not sell it, and if they were compelled to depart by war, the town must keep it until their return. Also many provisions were made for their convenience—that their cloth should be unladen from the ships with expedition when it came to the fairs, and that those who hired out vehicles should convey it promptly to its destination.[2] The English resorted to the town each year in greater numbers. On the 27th of September, 1477, many English ships, say the chroniclers, perished in a storm in the Scheldt.[3]

The incessant making of dykes in Brabant, Flanders, and Zeland on the banks of the Scheldt had aided violent storms to make the western arm into a channel deep enough to accommodate the largest vessels at the very time the Zwyn was becoming useless. It is uncertain when the Hont acquired sufficient depth for this purpose and therefore one cannot decide whether the change in it was a prime factor in diverting the commerce from the port of Sluis to that of Antwerp, nor is it to be concluded solely from the number of ships that began to take this course to Antwerp at this time, instead of the Eastern Scheldt, that they did so because it was deeper than before. It is evident that those now going to Antwerp—English, Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards—took it as the nearest route, whereas up to this time those coming to the town, namely the merchants of the Hansa, Holland, Zeland and the north, had preferred the eastern course. The Eastern Scheldt began to fall into disuse, a state of things no doubt hastened by the decay of Bergen-op-Zoom, and also by the wish to avoid paying the toll of Yersikeroir, collected off Bergen-op-Zoom.

The town of Antwerp had always been confined to the right bank of the river, no doubt because the other side had been under another Prince, but with a view to securing the safety of the harbour the town purchased in 1450 and 1475 the ownership of the river bank opposite, named the Flemish Headland.

In 1458 to 1460 operations were carried out to strengthen and improve the Wharf and afford a good shelter for ships.[4] In 1481 Maximilian and Mary permitted the demolition of the old Burg, so that access to the Wharf might be the more easy, and that its moat might be used for commercial purposes, leaving only that part of the wall standing which formed portion of the

[1] "Te Lintum," p. 12.
[2] Papebrochius, II, 149, and Thys, p. 70.
[3] "Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen," I, lxvi, folio 195.
[4] Génard, II, 419, etc.

fortifications on the river side. In 1485 a mercantile corporation was formed for the purpose of protecting the rights of its members to trade in foreign lands in accordance with custom and with treaties.[1] Maximilian had been willing to support what the town was doing for its own advancement partly because he wished to reward for services rendered him, and partly for the gains which the House of Austria would derive from its prosperity. After his imprisonment at Bruges (1488) he extended the jurisdiction of the Magistrates to a semi-circle comprising Dambrugge, Deurne, Berchem, and Kiel, making all who were born within it into poorters bound to bear the charges and entitled to share the privileges of the town; and to meet the extra duties thus entailed, the number of skepyns was increased two years later from twelve to sixteen.[2] In the same year, in October, he ordered the States of Holland to allow the merchants of Antwerp to pass through that county free from all dues of passage.

Maximilian was in the mood to help the faithful Antwerpers even more than he had done already in return for their help against his enemies. By charter of the 30th of June, 1488, in the name of himself and Philip, he ordained the transfer to Antwerp from Bruges of all the commerce of the Netherlands, and called the merchants to Antwerp, guaranteeing them privileges like those they had enjoyed at Bruges, and in July he gave safe-conducts and special protection to the merchants of Spain, the Hansa, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and other nations who had already left Bruges.[3]

The Easterlings and Germans

The merchants of the Hansa had possessed a house on the Old Corn Market since 1486, when the town had given them 300 livres towards its construction; but few had left the factory at Bruges. The German house of Meuting had set up a branch in 1479 and John and Ambrose Hochstetter had bought a house and warehouses in 1486 on a piece of ground now occupied by the street named after this family. The presence of foreign merchants at fair-time was nothing new, but the object the well-wishers of Antwerp had in view was to induce them to settle there permanently. Apart from Maximilian's Order the year 1488 had been eventful for the town, for in the spring, while the King of the Romans was a prisoner at Bruges, numbers of merchants of all nations came to Antwerp to settle there, owing to the disturbances, and it seems that when they settled in this new home they took the part of Maximilian against the Flemings.

[1] Meteren, folio 7.
[2] Génard, II, 432.
[3] M. & T., III, 296, and Gens, 311.

The Flanders Galleys

During the wars in Flanders we find the Venetian Senate giving instructions to the captain of the Flanders Galleys to sail to Antwerp or to some other port instead of Sluis, and we find the fleet at Antwerp in the autumn following Maximilian's imprisonment. The first visit of this fleet to Antwerp had been in 1317, and since then from time to time it had made for that port instead of Sluis. The Senate preferred the latter port, but were always ready to change its destination if there seemed sufficient reason. The appearance of the vessels at Antwerp was uncommon enough to cause wonder and to be recorded by contemporaries, but not so rare as to make it hopeless that this port would some day become their usual destination.[1] Before the end of the fourteenth century oriental produce had come by this fleet to Flanders, but still most of the costly spices and drugs of the East came by the overland route from Venice. These were indeed the declining years of Venetian trade, but no merchant on the Scheldt who desired more frequent visits of the Flanders Galleys to the port could have foreseen that in a few years the discoveries of the Portuguese would take the bulk of the Eastern trade from the Adriatic.

The Merchant-Adventurers Company

At this time the English cloth trade was so much more important to Antwerp than any other that we must follow the history of it for a few years. In the year after their marriage Maximilian and Mary entered into a treaty with Edward IV to secure trade and fishery and closing of the ports of both England and the Netherlands to pirates, and in 1484 Henry VII made two treaties, one with Maximilian and one with the town of Ghent, so that English merchants might be friends of both Prince and rebels.

The export of wool, which had so long been England's great industry, had for centuries tended towards giving way before the manufacture and export of cloth. For scores of years the new industry had been overtaking that of Flanders, and now that war had rendered the Flemish weavers idle we can see to what an extent it had grown. To the Antwerp Whitsuntide Fair of 1487 were sent about 29,000 pieces of English cloth.[2] The prosperity of the Adventurers Company dates from this period: they were established in the town destined to be the centre of English trade for some eighty years, and possessed a house with warehouses, cranes, weighing-houses and all they could need situated close to the quays, the Bourse and the Market Place,

[1] Rawdon Brown, I, for all details concerning the Flanders Galleys.
[2] Bertrijn, p. 51.

and here they lived under their own civil laws.[1] The arrival of the cloth fleets was timed for the two great fairs in spring and autumn, and on arrival show days were held for possible purchasers to examine the quality of the cloth; but very soon a great change took place in the sale, for instead of being limited to the time of the fair it came to be extended to the whole year. As early as 1484 we find the Hansa Counter at Bruges complaining of this as an infringement of their privileges. The selling of all other goods at all times soon followed.[2] But from time to time a cloud came between the traders of the two countries and involved them in great loss, though such a state of things could not be allowed to endure for long.

The Dukes of Burgundy had always been friendly with the House of York, and Charles the Bold had taken Margaret—King Edward's sister—for his third wife. When left a widow she remained in the Netherlands and until Maximilian came she took an active part in the affairs of the country. When in 1485 the House of Lancaster regained the English throne her palace became, as Bacon says, "the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the King." In 1487 she had supported the Pretender, Lambert Simnel, with men and money, and when his cause was crushed she looked for another instrument for her purpose. The payment of arrears of her dowry and of certain grants made her by Edward IV depended entirely upon the re-establishment of the White Rose on the throne.

In 1490 another Pretender appeared in the person of Perkin Warbeck. He was a Netherlander—a native of Tournai—but claimed to be the son of Edward IV. Margaret received him at her Court and recognized his claim.[3] Henry VII was not so safely on his throne that he could disregard such a matter, and he sent ambassadors to protest before Philip's Council, who answered that the Archduke would preserve peace with England, but that he had no means of preventing the Dowager Duchess taking what course she chose in such a matter. In truth the Council were not unwilling to support Warbeck. Henry promptly prohibited commercial intercourse between his subjects and those of the Archduke, banishing all Netherland subjects from England, recalling the Merchant Adventurers from Antwerp, and setting up a mart for English cloth at the English town of Calais (18th of September, 1493).

Maximilian and Philip of course replied by prohibiting the import of all English cloth, yarn, tin, lead, etc., and banishing all English merchants. Unfortunately for the Adventurers the prohibition did not extend to the merchants of the Hansa, who were still ensconced in the very heart of London, fortified by privileges, and were thus enabled to rival the English merchants

[1] "Te Lintum," p. 10.
[2] "Zeitalter der Fugger," II, 9.
[3] Gairdner, "Perkin Warbeck."

in their own country. To the Easterlings therefore fell the whole trade with the Netherlands during this breach of amity, and the indignation among the English merchants and their employees rose so high that riots broke out at the Steel-yard and clerks and apprentices pillaged the interlopers.[1]

Perhaps the Netherlanders suffered more than the English, for the Flemish looms were idle for want of wool. This state of affairs lasted for nearly three years. In 1493, at the funeral of the Emperor Frederick III at Vienna, Maximilian had recognized Warbeck as King of England and had treated him as such. In the following year Maximilian, now Emperor, returned to the Netherlands for the inauguration of the Archduke Philip in his dominions, and in October Warbeck was among the princes assembled in the Church of Our Lady when Philip was inaugurated at Antwerp. Antwerp sheltered many Yorkists, and on this occasion the Pretender was escorted by a troop of gentlemen and by a guard of twenty archers wearing the badge of the White Rose. He kept his state at the house of the English merchants (given back by them to the town on their departure to Calais), and on the façade he affixed the arms and legend to which he laid claim. The people were amazed to see this effrontery when the town was full of illustrious persons and merchants from many countries, some of whom favoured the Red Rose. On hearing of it two Englishmen who were loyal to Henry but for some reason had not withdrawn from the town thought it well for them to go to the English house carrying with them mud and filth with which they bespattered the escutcheons. They were seen and chased out of the town.[2]

Philip had now become ruler of his dominions and showed himself anxious to follow a national policy independent of the Habsburg interests, and Warbeck soon found himself deserted by his princely allies. The result was that Commissioners met in London and on the 24th of February, 1496, the Intercursus Magnus was signed between Henry and Philip. Although not introducing new terms the agreement was more complete than any preceding it. It provided that the subjects of either Prince should have the right to trade freely with certain ports in the lands and to fish without disturbance on the coasts of the other. It also provided that neither Prince should shelter or assist the rebellious subjects of the other. The Merchant Adventurers returned to Antwerp with great joy, and were received by the delighted Magistrates, and a procession was held to show the pleasure of the town, which " was by their absence sore hindered and empoverished."[3] They returned to their house in Wool Street.

Not even now did matters go quite smoothly between England

[1] Hall's Chronicle, p. 467.
[2] Molinet, V, 15.
[3] Hall's Chronicle, p 483.

and the Netherlands, and several supplementary treaties and agreements were made, but the Intercursus Magnus of 1496 was the basis of all future treaties. Even in the year in which the treaty was signed there were complaints among the English merchants that Philip had laid a duty on English cloth at the last Antwerp Fair, and Henry was suspected of having consented to it, but it was withdrawn in the following year.

At the age of sixteen Philip called the Fair was entrusted with the government of the Burgundian possessions, that is to say Artois, Franche Comté, Flanders, Brabant, Luxemburg, Hainaut, Namur, Holland, Zeland, Guelders and Utrecht. Liége had gained a virtual independence, and the Duchy of Burgundy had lapsed to the French Crown. For the occasion of his inauguration his father, who had become Emperor, returned to the Netherlands after five or six years' absence, and on Monday, the 18th of August, in the evening, he and his newly married wife, Bianca of Milan, his son the Archduke Philip, and his daughter, Margaret of Austria, the Archbishop of Mayence, Duke Frederick of Saxony, and many other nobles from Germany, Italy and other countries entered Antwerp.

Bianca was accompanied by ladies of Milan richly adorned after the Italian manner, which was a new thing for the Antwerpers to see. The royal party had already been welcomed at Mechlin, and the Antwerpers exerted themselves to eclipse the grandeur of that reception. The streets were hung with tapestry and cloth of silk; the decorations being all the more lavish because the autumn fair was in progress and the town full of merchants. The gates of the town, the half-completed belfry of the Church of Our Lady, and the houses and streets were so lighted up with torches and lanterns that night seemed turned into day. The party spent some time enjoying the hunting in the woods round Antwerp, and on the 9th of September, 1494, Philip made his Joyous Entry into Louvain. He was not called on to confirm the concessions of 1477, and the irksome oaths extracted from Mary and Maximilian were not required of him. As far as Antwerp was concerned, he undertook to observe privileges and bear the title and arms of Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, and he swore that the Margraviate should not again be severed from the rest of Brabant, as it had been in the time of Louis of Male.

At eight in the evening of the 5th of October, Philip made his Joyous Entry into Antwerp with Maximilian, Bianca, and the princely cortège, and was received as Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire. Certain exiles were allowed on the occasion to return to the town and followed in his train. The Spanish, Portuguese, and English merchants particularly exerted themselves to do him honour and the whole town was prepared to welcome him. Newly devised "histories" were presented, and

among other devices was a castle hanging in the air, six or seven feet in height and as much broad, which was so planned that by means of machinery it gave forth terrifying noises at the Archduke's approach, and "all the party were very much astonished." But the sight which was most appreciated, according to Molinet, was the "history" of the three goddesses, "Venus, Juno, and Pallas," impersonated by three nude women on the Market Place, arranged by the Guild of St. Luke.

On the next morning the whole party heard Mass in the Church of Our Lady, and at about ten o'clock Philip mounted a platform erected before the Town House and solemnly took oath as Duke of Brabant and Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire; and then largesse was scattered among the crowd.[1] The festivities lasted for three days and a splendid tournament was held about Candlemas. Sixteen foreign nobles dressed in crimson silk, as were their attendants, contended with sixteen Netherland nobles clad, with their attendants, in white damask. After the general tournament they jousted in pairs with lance and sword.[2] During these celebrations we have seen the English, Spanish, and Portuguese merchants playing a leading part in honouring the new Prince. The English must have been those who, not belonging to the Adventurers Company, were not affected by Henry's prohibition against trade. At about this time the great Augsburg family of Fugger came first in touch with the town.

Spanish Merchants

The mention of Spanish and Portuguese merchants necessitates some reference to the relations of the merchants of the whole peninsula with Antwerp. Before the discoveries of Columbus or Vasco da Gama both the Castilians and the Portuguese were debarred by their geographical position from any important share in the trade with the East, almost the whole of it falling to the Italians. On the 8th of April, 1492, the Fall of Granada—which made it possible for Spain to become a nation—was celebrated at Antwerp and within six months Columbus had achieved his aim. Spain by these two events became a power which might menace France and a nation with an incalculable field of commercial enterprise to dispose of. At the time of Philip's inauguration there was peace with France through the Peace of Senlis (1493) and Charles VIII was already occupied in Italy, but war in the future was inevitable. Obviously a matrimonial alliance between Philip and a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella had much to commend it; a course in which Maximilian was followed by Henry VII.

By a treaty of the 5th of November, 1494, Philip was betrothed

[1] Molinet, V, 8, etc. [2] Van Heyst, "Boek der Tyden," 239.

to Joanna of Castile, and Don Juan, Prince of Asturias, to his sister Margaret of Austria. A fleet of some 135 ships, under the command of the Admiral of Castile, after a terrible voyage from Spain, brought Joanna to Armuyden in Zeland (9th of September, 1496); fear of capture by the French at sea having made it necessary to put Spanish soldiers and sailors on board to the number of 20,000, who were called " Blue Caps " from the colour of their head-dresses. Joanna proceeded to Antwerp, but the wretched soldiers and sailors remained at Armuyden and on Walcheren throughout the bitter Zeland winter, quite unaccustomed to cold and decimated by disease.[1] Those who survived took Margaret of Austria to Spain in the following February.

Joanna entered Antwerp on Monday the 19th of September at about seven in the evening, and was welcomed by the Magistrates, the deans of the guilds, and the foreign merchants. She was of fine find graceful bearing and was more richly adorned than had been seen before in these lands. Her head was uncovered, and she rode a mule, as was the custom for ladies in Spain. She was accompanied by sixteen noble ladies and a " matrone," all of them dressed in cloth-of-gold and mounted on mules. Pages and trumpeters richly dressed brought up the train. The usual " histories " were set in the streets of the town. The Princess was lodged in St. Michael's and the Spanish courtiers in houses close by. The gold plate they had brought astonished every one, and so did Joanna's robe of cloth-of-gold trimmed with precious stones of incalculable value; even the ladder by which she mounted her mule was a thing to be admired. Philip had only just returned from Germany whither he had been to visit his father; so to welcome the bride in his stead came Margaret of Austria with Margaret of York and certain Knights of the Fleece. Joanna had reached Antwerp before their arrival and came with the Admiral of Castile and her suite a league out of Antwerp to meet them, and they entered the town together.

During her stay at St. Michael's Joanna became indisposed and Margaret visited her apartments. They were hung with cloth-of-gold " in the new manner," and nothing like it had been seen before in Antwerp. And never had been seen such rich furniture for rooms and such gold and silver plate as she had brought with her. The Spanish courtiers, ecclesiastics and laymen, were very richly dressed and wore chains of jewels of inestimable value. Less attention and expense had been bestowed on clothing those of humbler sort and they were not considered by the inhabitants to conduct themselves at all extravagantly, for they were temperate in eating and drinking; but when

[1] Reygersbergh, liv; Molinet, V. Some said that six or seven thousand of them died and that it was they who first brought the French Sickness to the Netherlands.

winter came and the north wind swept the land, says Molinet, they marvelled at the cold and blew on their fingers and complained bitterly, so that when a day came a little warmer than before they asked if winter had passed. Either the change of air or of food or the thinness of their clothing or some other cause brought on a pestilence and three to four thousand of them succumbed. Among these was a Bishop who was buried in the Franciscans' Cloister.[1] Philip awaited Joanna at Lierre, where the marriage was celebrated on the 12th of November by the Bishop of Cambrai. We have seen how twenty years before a marriage linked the Burgundian heritage to that of the Habsburgs. Now we see a marriage which, owing to a series of deaths, brought vast possessions to the eldest son of it, Charles V.

Don Juan, Joanna's eldest brother, died in 1497, shortly after his marriage with Margaret of Austria ; Isabella of Portugal, Joanna's sister, died in 1498, and Don Miguel, son of Isabella of Portugal, in 1500, so that Joanna found herself heiress of all the Spanish dominions,[2] and to those of Castile she succeeded at the death of Isabella of Castile in 1504. The Spanish marriages were popular with the Netherlanders. None could foresee they would drag these lands into struggles in which they had little interest. They could only see prosperity and extending trade and they found an ally against France and, even when Philip became King of Spain, thought themselves too far away to fear Spaniards might come to lord it over them or oppress them. Certainly as a result of this marriage Flemings soon began to frequent Seville and other Spanish towns whither came the products of the New World. The Magistrates gave the Spanish merchants a house in High Street.

The Portuguese Merchants

Both Spaniards and Portuguese had traded at Bruges throughout the fifteenth century, but the latter sent ships to Antwerp for the first time in 1503,[3] that is to say, six years after they had rounded the Cape of Good Hope and three years after they had got possession of Calicut in Malabar, whence they brought to the Scheldt spices, drugs, precious stones and metals, and costly eastern products, some of which had never been seen before in the north of Europe. The King of Portugal established a factor or agent at Antwerp. Nothing did more to induce merchants to move from Bruges to Antwerp and to swell the trade of the town than the decision of the Portuguese to set their chief depot there. The following were the chief spices, drugs and merchandise which began to arrive in large quantities:

[1] Molinet, V, 61. [2] Pirenne, III, 64.

[3] Reygersbergh, however, says that Portuguese ships came to Antwerp about 1490 : lii.

For cooking were used pepper, ginger, cinnamon, mace, cloves and nutmegs. Sugar was not well-known as yet.

The following were some of the eastern drugs most in use: red sandal wood, an astringent and taken to purify the blood and allay sickness[1]; verzin, the flowers of which were purgative; wormwood, a vermifuge and a stimulant used by women; mastic and galangal, tonics; spikenard, supposed to cure stone and to be, among other things, an antidote to poison; galbanum, much used by women; sal ammoniac and gum seraphic, aperients; borax; camphor. All these came from the east and were known as "the great spices." "The small spices" were such as the purgatives refined scammony, rhubarb, manna, aloes, refined turbith, preserved myrabolans, terebenthina; seed-pearls, musk, ambergris, taken as cordials and considered to be antidotes to poison; the resinous gum, belzuinum, supposed to ease ulcerated lungs and cure asthma, and to be an antidote to poison; civet to cure children of colic; tignames or eiichrysum, a plant the flowers of which were used for the same purposes as wormwood; calamus verus, a reed the pulp of which was considered to be among other things an antidote to poison and an aperient; storax, a gum used as a tonic and emollient; auri-pigmentum; elephants' tusks and green ginger.

Before the sea-route to India was discovered the eastern produce was for the most part brought by the Red Sea and overland to Alexandria and thence to Venice. Light but costly goods were sometimes carried by caravan from the head of the Persian Gulf to Syria by Bassorah and Bagdad and so to Italy. From Venice these costly goods were distributed over Europe, great quantities being carried to Bruges to be exchanged for the products of the North. For a long time a certain quantity of eastern produce had been brought to the Netherlands by the Flanders galleys, but the great part was carried over the Alps and borne by the Rhine. By the discovery of the sea-route to India Venice lost the trade in these rich commodities and they were brought by sea to Lisbon and thence to Antwerp. Lisbon took the place of Venice and Antwerp supplanted Bruges.

The Portuguese reserved for themselves the right to bring the merchandise to Lisbon. Diego Fernandez, the Factor of the King of Portugal, is first mentioned as being at Antwerp in 1494,[2] and through him the King sold the cargoes to speculators who created monopolies and raised the price. Pepper was the most important commodity of them all and it was entirely in the hands of the King of Portugal, and almost all the trade in it was conducted at Antwerp, the price rising sometimes very high.[3] We shall see to what proportions the trade in spices

[1] See Rawdon Brown, Introduction to Vol. I of "Venetian State Papers."
[2] "Zeitalter der Fugger," II, 4, footnote.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, 14.

grew during the reign of Charles V and here it is only necessary to attempt to discern its origin.

The first man in the Netherlands to embark on one of these ventures was Nicholas Rechtergem, who entered into a transaction with the Factor and brought great quantities of spices by sea to Antwerp from Lisbon and dispatched them thence to Germany. Now the Germans were accustomed to look for the arrival of spices from the South, and not having heard of, or perhaps not having appreciated the importance of, the discovery of the sea-route to the East, they regarded these with suspicion, thinking they could not be genuine.[1] Evidently the spices which had before this time been brought to the North by the Venetian ships had not been re-exported to Germany. When they realized how much expense could be saved by bringing the eastern produce by sea, some merchants entered on a venture of great magnitude. They arranged (1505) with the King of Portugal that they should be allowed to purchase a great quantity of produce in the Indies and ship it straight to Antwerp in Portuguese ships. The Houses of Fugger, Welser, Hochstetter, Imhof, Frescobaldi, Gualterotti and Affaitadi shared in this enterprise and made a huge profit.

It took, however, so long to distribute the cargoes and they found so many difficulties to surmount that in future they contented themselves with the monopoly they acquired from the King of Portugal of bringing from Lisbon to Antwerp the produce which Portuguese ships had carried thither from the Indies. Soon spices were fetching no price at Antwerp by reason of the great quantity which arrived. From the reports of Vincenzo Quirini, the Venetian Ambassador, made to the Senate, we know the price fetched by certain spices at the Autumn Fair at Antwerp in 1505. Pepper was worth 18½ groats a pound—that is to say, about 56 ducats the cargo ; ginger from 17 to 24 groats according to the quality ; cloves 60 groats ; cinnamon 28 to 30 groats according to the quality ; nutmegs 28 groats.[2]

The ginger which was brought by the Venetians from Alexandria was, according to Quirini, of a better quality than that brought from Lisbon. The prices were lower than any known before the Portuguese began to bring merchandise from Calicut.[3]

Venetians still brought a small quantity of eastern produce to the Netherlands, but they found themselves undersold by men who had bought those from Lisbon, yet the merchants of the Republic continued to hope some good fortune might restore the eastern trade to them. In 1506 Quirini reports to the Senate from Spain that the voyages from Lisbon to Calicut will probably be discontinued owing to their great expense, but it was the wish that fathered the thought. Cer-

[1] Guicciardini.
[2] Rawdon Brown, I, No. 857 and other letters.
[3] The same, No. 852.

tainly there was a terrible loss of men and ships and merchandise in the six months' voyage.[1] It was only in 1511 that the town gave the Portuguese their fine house on the Kipdorp.

Among the Italians who settled at Antwerp before the close of the century were the Affaitadi who established themselves there in 1498. The foreign merchants lived at Antwerp in Nations just as they had done at Bruges. The restrictions which in most towns limited the right of foreign merchants to trade were almost entirely absent at Antwerp and the greatest possible freedom in this direction was allowed, but the carrying on of industries was limited to the members of the guilds. A privilege worthy of notice was that enjoyed by the wives of merchants which entitled them, in the event of their husbands' insolvency, to take their dower before all other creditors.

In the days when his desire to make war on the infidel prompted his actions, Philip the Good had caused four galleys to be built at Kiel, just outside the walls of Antwerp, to be sent to the East, and in so doing had introduced the industry of ship-building on the banks of the Scheldt. By the end of the century the development of the use of the mariner's compass and gun-powder had demanded ships of a size more suitable for long absence from shore and better fitted to carry heavy artillery. At the beginning of the last decade of the fifteenth century the Antwerpers possessed many small craft suitable for journeys by river or canal, or even for a voyage to England, but they neither built nor owned ships large enough for a long voyage. Then, however, they began to buy large vessels in which to sail westwards to far countries and, according to the chronicler, they were the first to build great sea-going ships.[2] During the reign of Philip both Holland and Zeland developed the industry with success, and in 1506 three fine ships lay at anchor which had been built in Holland at the order of the King of Portugal to make the voyage to Calicut. The industry flourished at Antwerp and all kinds and sizes of ships were built.

Philip's policy was to maintain peaceful relations with France, which was the course most certain to give the country time to recuperate after the troubled times of his father's rule, and prosperity began to return. He made several efforts to assist Bruges which no doubt were to the prejudice of Antwerp, but his desire was to improve the condition of the whole of his dominions. The year in which his eldest son, Charles, was born (1500) saw the death of Don Miguel, and he and Joanna became heirs to the Kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Laon, Granada, and Naples. Henceforth a change in his policy was inevitable and it became dynastic rather than national.[3] In fact the time was approaching when the rulers of the Netherlands would

[1] Rawdon Brown, I, No. 890.
[2] Reygersbergh, lii.
[3] Pirenne, III, p. 67.

have interests in Italy which would draw them into wars with France. If the Netherlands had remained independent of the House of Naples they would have stood apart from the wars which followed. At Louis's invitation Philip and Joanna journeyed to Spain through France in November 1501, Philip returning alone in 1503. His prolonged absence had caused great uneasiness in the Netherlands, for France was distrusted and it was feared there would be trouble with Guelders. In consequence grain and other commodities had risen in price.[1]

Charles the Bold had got possession of the Duchy of Guelders by taking a mortgage on it. Since the disaster at Nancy there had been risings against Burgundy of a more or less serious nature in favour of claimants to the Duchy. In 1491 Charles of Egmont, set on by France, commenced a war which lasted for fifty years. The people of Guelders did little commerce and so had less dislike of commotion than the Netherlanders, and they could nearly always rely on help from the French King, Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel or some of the other foes of the Habsburgs. Joanna followed her husband to the Netherlands in the spring of 1504, and in May a procession was ordered in Antwerp to pray for her safe journey. As soon as the Treaty of Blois had secured his position with France, Philip turned against Charles of Egmont in the hopes of crushing him before his interests in Spain, Italy, or Germany should cause him to leave the Netherlands. In October 1504 he invaded Guelders, but winter prevented the campaign realizing the promise of its early stages, and on his retreat the men of Guelders invaded Brabant so that on the 15th of March, 1505, the Magistrates of Antwerp called on all who could bear arms to prepare gun and pike and assemble at Herenthals to go with the Schout and Jan van Berchem, Knight, to guard the frontier.[2] However, the enemy ravaged Brabant up to Bergen-op-Zoom.

On the 26th of November, 1504, Isabella of Castile had died and Philip, no longer having leisure to push on the war against Guelders, made peace in the summer. Isabella's will appointed Ferdinand to act as Regent of Castile in the names of Philip and Joanna until Charles should attain the age of twenty, in the event of the absence or incapacity of Joanna.[3] Joanna had already evinced symptoms of being of unsound mind and Charles was only four years old. From the first Philip was determined to exercise the Regency himself, and to gain time he entered the Treaty of Salamanca by which he agreed that Ferdinand should act as Regent. He and Joanna made hasty preparations to start for Spain. The States-General assembled at Antwerp in 1505 and granted 400,000 Philippus d'or for the cost of the war against Guelders and for the journey to Spain.

[1] Henne, I. [2] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[3] Prescott, "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella."

By the end of the year a fleet was ready at Middleburg and it sailed on the 10th of January, 1506. A fearful storm arose in the channel and the royal ship the *Julienne* was compelled to seek safety in the English port of Falmouth.

Henry VII was not slow to embrace the opportunity of discussing several outstanding matters and caused the young King to be escorted to Windsor. It is hard to discern how far Henry took his guest at a disadvantage in the discussions which followed. Matters had not gone smoothly between the English and Netherland traders since Intercursus Magnus and the former felt themselves placed at a disadvantage by it. In 1501 disputes had fallen out between the town of Antwerp and the English merchants resorting thither, and after the Whitsun Fair of that year the latter had moved to Bergen-op-Zoom. They were followed by the Magistrates of Antwerp, who besought them to return and on their refusal all the inhabitants of Antwerp were forbidden to do business with them or to go to Bergen-op-Zoom. In June 1502 disputes between the town and the merchants were terminated and new advantages granted to the merchants; they were confirmed in the possession of the house in Wool Street, but they were to pay for it in Brabant pounds instead of those of Flanders; they were given land in Zierickstrate on which they might build; and in June of the same year all treaties between the two sovereigns were renewed at Antwerp by Commissioners. The English reopened their shops in Wool Street.[1]

The next three years saw the arrival at Antwerp of eastern produce from Lisbon in greater quantities than had been known before in the North and the town's position as a commercial centre became more assured. Perhaps this led the men of Antwerp to demand more of the English and give less than they had done hitherto. At all events we find fresh disputes in 1505. We learn from reports written at Antwerp by Vincenzo Quirini to the Venetian Senate in July that the quarrel concerned duties exacted by each King from the subjects of the other, and that as a result commercial relations between the two countries were suspended for many Fairs. The Venetian reckoned that the Antwerp Fairs did not yield one-third of the usual profit if the English were not there.[2] But Philip's policy had changed since his last treaty with the English. It was as King of Castile that Henry welcomed him at Windsor and it was in this capacity rather than as ruler of the Netherlands that he approached the settlement of these disputes. He hoped that Henry might be of some assistance to him against France, and was not averse from entering a treaty disadvantageous to the Netherlanders.

The treaty which was signed was greatly in favour of the

[1] M. & T., III, 342, etc. [2] Rawdon Brown, I, Nos. 846, 849.

English, and mindful of that of 1496 the Netherlanders called it Intercursus Malus. It was swept away so soon that its terms are unimportant. Philip resumed his voyage to Spain in April. In May Louis informed Chièvres, in whose hands Philip had left the Government, that he did not consider himself bound by his treaties made with Philip, and war became imminent. In June the men of Guelders reappeared in the Campine with the open approval of Louis. All the inhabitants of the Netherlands between the ages of eighteen and sixty were ordered to hold themselves in readiness. Robert de la Marcke, coming from France, crossed the land of Liége with a band of adventurers and joined the men of Guelders ravaging the Campine. The Netherlands seemed on the point of suffering some overwhelming disaster when (25th of September, 1506) Philip died at Burgos in Spain.[1]

[1] Henne, I.

CHAPTER III

DISASTERS, FAMINES, PLAGUES AND YEARS OF PLENTY UNDER MAXIMILIAN AND PHILIP—THE HABITS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE—CRIME IN THE TOWN—THE CHAMBERS OF RHETORIC —THE MILITARY GUILDS—THE OMMEGANGEN

AT the death of Philip the Fair thirty years all but a few months had passed since the House of Austria had come to rule in the Netherlands. These years had seen the steady advance made by the town of Antwerp towards prosperity, but misfortunes came as well—caused it might be by the Act of God, the disaster of war, or the folly of princes—which the more prosperous parts of the country had to share with Flanders. The wars in Flanders had proved very costly and money, especially that of lesser value, had become scarce—a stiver had risen to three and a half times its former value, and other coins in proportion, and misery fell on the poor. In a foolish attempt to provide a remedy, Maximilian in 1489 debased the coinage and by doing so caused more loss than the wars had entailed. Debtors took the chance of paying their debts with coins of inflated value and merchants removed their wares to places where they could get the full value for them. So great was the injury done to commerce in this way that some things became dearer than before. In 1491 the States-General remonstrated and Maximilian consented to the restoration of the value of coins. However, the value continued to fluctuate until wise measures secured it in the time of Charles V. In the year before the coinage was debased the Magistrates of Antwerp published a tariff of the highest prices which innkeepers and shopkeepers might demand of their customers, and this serves to show how matters stood at that time.

For a dinner for a master	1½ stivers.
For a dinner for a servant	1¼ stivers.
Fodder for a horse	½ stiver.
Hire of a horse	3 stivers.
A pound of beef	1½ Brabant groats.
A fat sheep	5 Brabant shillings.
A chicken	4½ Brabant groats.
A pound of fresh butter	2 Brabant groats.
6 eggs	1 Brabant groat.[1]

[1] M. &. T., III, p. 304.

This tariff was fixed just after the Emperor Frederick III, with his large escort, had spent six weeks in the town, and presumably what prices could be demanded with fairness had come under discussion. The tariff was fixed again in 1494 when Maximilian and his bride were expected. These tariffs show prices to have been very high throughout these years when the value of money is considered, but the inhabitants of Antwerp were better able to pay such prices than the wretched inhabitants of Flanders. The foreign merchants in the town were prospering, but few natives took much part in commerce as yet. Innkeepers, shopkeepers and those who sold victuals did a splendid trade, and many wage-earners found good employment on the quays and as carters or in one of the hundred trades plied in a busy town.

The chroniclers of these years narrate many unconnected facts of importance and interest to the ordinary citizen of Antwerp and reveal to us what went on in the town. In 1477 a great thunderstorm broke over the town on the 6th of July; the Church of the Dominicans was struck by lightning and the image of St. Dominic thrown down and broken. In the same year, being that of the "Quaey Wereld," on Saturday, the 27th of September, the Feast of St. Cosmo and St. Damian, there was such a tempest as, it was said, had not been experienced for one hundred years. The waters of the river swamped the Wharf and many English ships perished before the town, the English cloth they carried being swept down stream to the Zeland and Flemish shores. For eight hours the south-west wind raged and the Burg and St. Walburga's Church were filled with water. Many dykes were broken and great strips of land submerged. Besides these afflictions a dreadful comet was seen in the autumn which may have been thought to foretell even greater disasters. Wheat rose in Flanders in the following year (1478).

The winter 1480–81 [1] was terribly severe and was regarded as a punishment from Heaven. The bitter weather began about Christmas Day, and on the 13th of January the Scheldt before Antwerp was frozen over and it remained thus until the middle of March, and a crowd of pilgrims crossed over it on their way to St. Anna of Keetenisse. No winter like it had been known for thirty or forty years. Wayfarers died of cold. Later in the year a famine came and wheat rose in Flanders to the highest price known for twenty-five years. The truce with France let loose bands of soldiers who became vagabonds and so terrorized the people that a reward was offered for bringing such scoundrels to justice and "the gallows began to groan." The Magistrates had to buy corn for the people and to create annuities to raise the money. In 1481–2–3 great quantities of rain fell and so bad

[1] There is room for doubt as to the date of this severe winter. It may well have been 1479–80.

was the summer of the last of these years that the chronicler speaks of it as being like winter, so that no fruit became ripe; —perhaps he found some consolation in the arrival in August at Antwerp of the live elephant he speaks of and of the "living wild man" who came later in the year. Again and again the dykes were broken.

In June 1487 a pestilence appeared and raged until papers with the name "Jesus" written on them (die brieffkens vanden H Naem Jesus) were put before almost every house, but then, says Bertrijn, it ceased. We know nothing of the nature of this pestilence, but originating in Antwerp it spread through the whole country and reached its climax in 1489 which was a bad year for all the Netherlands, for in Flanders the war between Maximilian and the towns had caused a great dearth, and in Zeland the piracy of the Flemings who sailed out of Sluis had caused a scarcity of such produce as was looked for from abroad; added to this the coinage was debased, leading to a rise in prices, and plague reappeared in Brabant. In 1492 an infectious disease appeared in Antwerp, and on the 22nd of October the Magistrates ordered that those who dwelt in houses in which anyone had died of the sickness must hang out a wisp of straw and must carry a white rod when walking abroad. In this year peace was restored in Flanders and in the next the harvest was good for the first time for a long period and the price of rye fell.

At the end of July 1495 much damage was done in Brabant by storms to buildings and to beasts, and so great were the floods which followed that women were drowned and children washed away in their cradles, while houses and sheds were destroyed. Yet the harvest in some parts survived all this and plenty of wheat, oats, wine and fruit was garnered and the price of wheat fell. The winter 1495–6 was very cold, and in February the Scheldt was frozen before Antwerp. An excise-duty had been put on rye, and yet it only fetched six stivers a viertal, for money was very scarce. Wheat fetched only ten stivers a viertal. The new century opened with wheat in Flanders at the lowest price at which it stood during any of these years, namely 29*s.* $4\frac{1}{4}$*d.* a hev, and at this time so much imported fruit came to Zeland from Spain and Portugal that it was sometimes cheaper than that grown at home. Apart from the glut of fruit caused by importation in these years, commodities became very cheap by reason of the lack of money. In 1501 in Zeland one could buy $\frac{1}{16}$ of a measure of cheese, a fat goose, a pound of butter, and two pots of wine of Poitou all for six stivers. No one remembered such plenty, for six stivers then equalled a quarter of an écu d'or of France.

A glandular epidemic visited France and Germany in 1503, and in some parts of the Netherlands one-third of the population

succumbed from what would seem to be the same complaint On the eve of the Feast of St. Bartholomew in the following year an earthquake was felt in Antwerp "for the space of a Pater Noster" and the things in the houses were rattled about. Molinet speaks of the Netherlands at the time as an earthly paradise, and in 1504 the abundance in Antwerp was such that for three stivers one could buy twelve pounds of bread, a pot of Spanish wine, a codfish, a pound of sugar and twenty-five oranges.[1]

There does not seem to have been a great amount of crime or disorder in the town when one remembers that the number of foreigners of all conditions was always increasing, and that the town sheltered rough men of all kinds employed on the quays and ships, waggoners, porters, to say nothing of the riff-raff always to be found in a large trading-town.

It is interesting to consider some of the ordinances published by the Magistrates for the regulation of affairs within the town and references by the chroniclers to events which tell of the daily life of the inhabitants.

In October 1477 it was ordered that none should maintain prostitutes in the houses in the streets which formed the route usually followed by the great Procession and that no such women should carry on their trade in these houses, and to secure this half of the fine inflicted had to be paid by the lessor of the house. This class of women was a constant anxiety to the rulers of the town. In 1501 it was decreed that those of them living outside the Cowgate behind the cloister of the Dominicans and elsewhere in the town must remain quietly in their houses and not call out to men or entice them in, under pain of fine. When war had broken out again with the French in 1478 and it was not known what foes or traitors might lurk in the town it was ordered that no one should go about the streets after "thief-bell"—the last bell to sound in the night at which moment the gates were shut—without lantern or light under pain of fine and imprisonment, and if he carried arms they should be forfeited. The carrying of a light was intended to show the watch who the night ramblers were. At the same time it was ordered that none should receive an armed man into his house without consent of the Magistrates.

In October 1478 the wife of Jan van Dockx was buried alive beneath the gallows because she had murdered her husband; and on the next day Aert van Gheele, the treasurer of Falcon's Cloister, was dragged on a hurdle from the Steen to the Market Place and there beheaded, for he was her lover and had been

[1] For above facts see Van Heyst, Boek der Tyden; "Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen," I; Molinet; "Chronyk van Antwerpen" and other chroniclers; Meteren; "Antwerpsch Archievenblad"; Torfs, "Fastes des Calamités," etc.; Willems, "Belgisch Museum," Deel, 5; Hecker, "Epidemics of the Middle Ages."

accessory to the murder. His remains were hung on a wheel outside the town, where they would remain a prey for birds, unless his friends paid a sum of money to be allowed to remove them for burial. These wheels were small and were set on long poles, as can be seen in Brueghel's picture of the Procession to Calvary at Vienna. A number of them stood in the Gallows Field—the present Pépinière. The women of the Netherlands earned the reputation of being careful of their honesty, but from time to time the Magistrates thought it wise to forbid adultery and in 1502 ordered that all taken in this offence should be banished. Guicciardini considered that the Netherlanders were not much given to lustful pleasures.

There was always an element of coarseness underlying the Antwerpers' sense of humour, and even in the fifteenth century we find instances of it. For example in the winter of 1487 two women paid a baker's boy to go stark-naked to the Church of Our Lady and walk in among the people during the sermon; and this he did in part, but was stopped at the door of the church by "good modest women or men." He revealed who were the women who had set him on and the Magistrates caused them to be publicly punished, and the chronicler, in recording that they died of the plague, which fell on Antwerp soon afterwards, speaks as if such retribution is only what one would expect. Affrays and stabbings in the dark and narrow streets were far from uncommon. We have seen how Van Dadizeele met his death. Besides the assassin hired by the rich to remove an enemy there were scores of thieves who waylaid rich burghers and merchants. Burglaries were plentiful. The town always had its share of suspicious characters, often banished from elsewhere, and many poor.

The poor were mostly such as the blind and maimed who, being incapacitated for work, were allowed to beg—a privilege denied to others. They were forbidden, however, to beg in the Church of Our Lady. By the beginning of the sixteenth century they were multiplying rapidly, and began to house themselves in the various places of worship so that it was necessary to forbid them to lie and sit in such places under pain of forfeiting their chief garment and of being put for three days in the dungeon of the Church of Our Lady on bread and water.

Dice-playing was very popular—in fact it amounted to a curse through the gambling it encouraged. The favourite spot for this pastime was the steps of the fountain in the Market Place. It was not losing its hold on the gamblers at the end of the century and an ordinance forbade it and other games of hazard under pain of being set in the pillory and a ducking for the first offence and being nailed by the ears to the pillory for the second. There were other regulations to the same effect, and people had to be restrained from gambling away their bedding and

clothes and all they had. Laws against swearing and libelling seem hardly worth mentioning. Frequently two citizens were called on to swear a Peace (Vrede). When a quarrel arose, a person likely to assault another was warned by the Schout in the Duke's name to do nothing in the matter. If he refused the Vrede, he was punished. In the absence of officials any poorter could impose the Vrede, which went off as soon as the two parties ate and drank together and associated as friends. The Reconciliation was a picturesque ceremony enacted by a murderer and the deceased's relatives in which the former was forgiven and a feud avoided.

The Magistrates kept for themselves, the officers of the town and the Military Guilds the playing of tennis in the Garden of the Guilds, which seems to have been the only place where it could be played, and we find them forbidding anyone to play ball in the Churchyard of Our Lady. In July 1489 a Westphalian, name Evrard van Backhuysen, was boiled alived in a brewer's vat near the Mint for making false money. He suffered in water, but oil was the usual medium on such occasions. In the early part of 1493 a curious case of murder came to light. Several merchants had disappeared mysteriously while visiting Antwerp, and a man who kept an inn near the town with whom merchants were in the habit of lodging was suspected and arrested. It was then discovered that he had murdered ten or twelve of his guests, drowning them at night with the help of his servants. He was beheaded at Antwerp.

In 1494 several persons were prosecuted for wounding, thieving, and the like, and we find proceedings taken against those who had been guilty of offensive conduct towards a certain Strasburg merchant, and at the same time a special order was given that the merchants of that town, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and other German towns should not be treated ill by word or action. In the same year the Magistrates ordered that none should buy stolen goods or harbour soldiers, and that loose women and girls should not forgather with men, and that houses within the old walls of the town or in the streets through which the Procession passed should not be let to women who intended to keep them as brothels, and that none should live in adultery : also none were to shoot in the town with guns or bows.

This is the year in which Philip made his Joyous Entry. We have seen that when Joanna first came to the town the splendour of her court aroused the enthusiasm of the simpler northerners. Perhaps her example corrupted them, for in the next year we find all who were not of noble rank were forbidden to wear silk, camblets, or velvet. The light-hearted members of the community are sometimes in evidence, as when in 1506 someone pulled the knockers and bell-handles from street doors. Frequently instructions are issued forbidding the killing of

game in the neighbourhood, for attempts were always being made to preserve it for the Sovereign, a thing clean contrary to the privileges of Brabant, which allowed Brabanters to hunt and shoot in the Duchy.

Repeatedly the citizens are charged not to go to Dambrugge, Mercxem, Berchem, and other places just outside the town to drink there, for this enabled them to drink without paying excise in the town.

During these years meetings of the States-General were frequently held at Antwerp. A Chapter of the Knights of the Golden Fleece had been planned on one occasion, but when the time came the war with Flanders caused it to be postponed and in point of fact the town had its first opportunity of welcoming the Knights in 1556.

No kind of amusement was more popular throughout the Netherlands than the displays given by the Chambers of Rhetoric.[1] The Chambers of Antwerp were very famous. In Burgundian times certain members of the Guild of St. Luke were in the habit of acting plays, usually of a religious character. In 1480 they became a Chamber of Rhetoric, for which rules were drawn up by the Magistrates. The Chamber took the name of the "Violet" and the motto "By friendship united" ("wt jonsten versaemt") and a violet for emblem. The Magistrate decreed it should be attached to the Guild of St. Luke, which was composed for the most part of painters, having the same deans but its own headman and prince. That the members would be good Catholics seemed at this time a matter of course, but a rule to that effect became a matter of consequence when the Chambers became the hotbeds of Lutheranism and Calvinism. Irregular attendance of members, whether at the meetings, banquets, appointed Masses, or processions, was punished by fine. The members paid a subscription and had to pay a fixed sum if they wished the brethren to attend their funerals. It can be seen that the Chamber was founded on the practice of excellent principles and to some extent on a religious basis. No strangers were admitted to the meetings, but sometimes exceptions were made to the rule, as when the Emperor Frederick and Maximilian came to Antwerp in 1486. Sunday afternoons during the winter was the usual time for meeting, and members would then recite poetry of their own composition or act comedies. On great occasions, as when a prince made his Joyous Entry, they devised "histories" to be set up in the public squares or gave plays or shows to entertain the guests of the town or to please the multitude. They played

[1] Willems, "Belgisch Museum," Vols. I and V; J. B. Van der Stralen, "Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Rederykkamers"; M. & T., III; Moke, "Histoire de la Littérature Flamande"; Donnet, "Het Jonstich Versaem der Violeren"; Ph. Rombouts and Th. van Lerius, "De Liggeren en andere Historisch Archieven der Antwerpsch Sint Lucas Gilde," Vol. I.

pieces of a light nature (Esbattementen or Kluchten) and serious pieces (Spelen van Zinne or Zinnespelen).

But so far as the public were concerned the gatherings called the Landjewels were the most popular. These were given from time to time by the chief towns to all chambers and various prizes were given. The meeting was so called because such a concourse of people as came together formed a jewel which adorned the land in which it was held: sometimes the prize was referred to as a jewel. Usually a question was propounded and a prize given for the wisest answer; also a prize would be given to the Chamber which entered the town in which the Landjewel was held with the greatest splendour and often for other contests. On these occasions it was on the Factor of the Chamber that the chief duties lay, as composer of poetry, expounder of riddles, and marshal of the order of their processions. In several years the Violet went to other towns and carried away prizes.

The second Antwerp Chamber, the "Marigold," seems to have been an offshoot of the Violet and is not heard of before 1490, when both Chambers were granted a handsome yearly subsidy in return for their services: its motto was "Increasing in Virtue" (groeyende in deugde). In 1493 Philip realized that the Chambers were growing in importance and might, if properly handled, form a bond throughout the Provinces which would help towards making them into one country, and summoning them all to Mechlin he there instituted a Sovereign Chamber over them all and set his chaplain at its head with the title of Sovereign Prince. To this meeting the Violet went with a triumphal chariot on which St. Luke, the patron of the Guild, sat painting a portrait of the Virgin. The popularity of rhetoric-displays among the people was extraordinary. We can understand that when a prince was expected people would be amused by pageants or histories which the Chambers contrived, but on occasions they were delighted with matter of more serious nature.

For instance in 1495 the Guild of St. Luke having obtained a bull from the Pope enabling them to establish the Brotherhood of the Seven Sorrows of Mary in their chapel in the Church of Our Lady, the Violet honoured the occasion by giving a play of 2,800 verses, and this with such applause that it was repeated later.

In May 1495 the Magistrates decided to hold a Landjewel in the town in the following year and to offer prizes. Invitations were sent to the Chambers throughout the country for the following St. John's Day, and twenty-eight Chambers accepted. Of these twenty-two entered the town by land on the 19th of June [1] and the other six came in by water two days later. All

[1] Perhaps it was the 24th of June, which was St. John's Feast.

the chief Netherland towns, excepting Bruges, were represented, and from some came more than one Chamber. Those who came by water were the "Fountain" of Ghent and the Chambers of Bergen-op-Zoom, Amsterdam, Romerswael, Sluis, and Ostend. The entries, whether by land or water, had been planned to be as splendid as possible, and the beholders were astonished. The prize for the most magnificent entry was won by the "Peony" of Mechlin. The Chambers of Hulst and Termonde each won prizes for entry by land and those of Bergen-op-Zoom and Amsterdam for entry by water. That of Bergen-op-Zoom—"The Joy Blossom" (Vreuchde Bloem)—also won a prize for presenting the most magnificent appearance.

The most important part of the festival was the solving of the question put to the competitors. The question was, "What is the greatest favour God has accorded for the salvation of mankind?" It was won by the "Uninstructed" (Ongeleerden) of Lierre with the answer "The shedding of Christ's Blood" or "The death of Our Lord" or "The conception of man's nature by Mary."[1] The Chamber of Romerswael, named the "Three Cornflowers," won second prize with the answer "Charity."

Other answers were "The Holy Sacrament," "The Word," and so on. Altogether forty-four silver cups, seven silver statues of St. Luke, five silver bowls, one violet made of silver, and one purse were distributed as prizes, as well as several red caps which served as mementoes of the occasion. Nor was the acting of plays omitted from the proceedings.[2]

It was in the autumn after this festival that Joanna arrived. The Rhetoricians of Antwerp continued to bring home prizes and to delight their fellow-townsmen with their skill. In 1502 a prize was offered at Antwerp for the best refrains composed in honour of St. Jerome, and read aloud to the people,—a refrain was a song. So much verse was called forth that the contest lasted on the Market Place until midnight.

The Chambers of Rhetoric were to some extent suggested by and imitative of the military guilds and did in poetry and dramatic art what the others did in military exercises and warlike prowess.

The development of the art of war was at this time diminishing the usefulness of these fraternities of half-trained communal soldiers, and the four old guilds—the Old and New Guilds of Crossbowmen, and the Old and New Guilds of Bowmen[3]—were compelled, as the end of the century approached, to be content with fame won in pageants or at clever marksmanship at a popinjay, rather than as being the most useful branch of the

[1] The question and answers are given by the chroniclers in different forms.

[2] Bertrijn, "Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen"; J. van der Stralen, "Geschiedenis des Antwerpsche Rederykkamers."

[3] The New Guild of Bowmen did not become a "sworn" guild until 1485.

military forces of the country in time of war. In 1487 to the four old guilds was added that of the Swordsmen or Fencers, who were armed with large two-handed swords and established themselves in a hall at the Gate of St. George, suitable for their exercises. Companies or schools of swordsmen had long existed in the town, but this was the first time they had been formed into a guild and they began then to march with the other military guilds in the annual processions.

We have seen the older guilds march out to support Maximilian in the wars against France and we have seen the part they played in 1485 when the interests of their native town were threatened by the fort built by the Flemings on Kloppersdyke. Long after they had ceased to take the field they were a useful force—and for a long time the only force—for preserving order among the populace in times of commotion, and throughout the reign of Charles V they formed the core of the defence of the town when menaced by raid or siege. War had become a profession for mercenaries who were ready to sell their services to anyone who would pay for them. The pike of the well-trained foot-soldier had won the day at Guinegate as it had at Nancy. The exploit on Kloppersdyke was one of the last military achievements in the field of the Antwerp guilds, and the army which Maximilian prepared in the following year against France was composed of trained professional soldiers.

It was thought a new weapon might restore the prestige of the communal militia, and in 1489 a sixth guild—the "Arqubusiers"—was formed. The arquebus was only just taking the place of the crossbow, for until now it had been too clumsy and unwieldy. At its formation this guild was composed of only six members, and for their first headman they chose Walraven Draeck. Their patron saint was St. Christopher and their practice-ground lay in the street at present called after them on the Meer Place. They began to shoot at a popinjay set on the neighbouring Tanners' Tower, as well as at a similar mark placed on the old Kroonenburg Tower on the river bank.

The Arquebusiers shared their practice-ground with the Old Guild of Bowmen and were near neighbours of the two Crossbow Guilds, who had the site of the present French Theatre and Grain Market, and of the Young Guild of Bowmen, on the present St. George's Rampart,[1] and of the Swordsmen ensconced in their hall at St. George's Gate. The two new guilds were organized on the same system as their four predecessors and were composed almost entirely of poorters, but all of good repute and standing and between twenty and sixty years of age, with deans and under-deans chosen by the members and appointed by the Magistrates; and each had a distinguished citizen for headman, as well as a skilled marksman for king. The wars

[1] In the sixteenth century the Old Guild of Bowmen joined them here.

between Maximilian and the Flemish towns made rare the contests which had enlivened happier days, but no doubt the exercises of the members were not slackened. Mercenaries bore the brunt of the fighting in the field, but the guarding of the town against surprise or treachery fell to the guilds. After the "Quaey Wereld" of 1477 there seems to have been no commotion at which their services were needed to maintain order until well on in the sixteenth century, and Joyous Entries and processions were made to eke out the few shooting festivals held. In 1488 the Old Guild of Crossbowmen went to shoot at Lierre, but it was only in 1495 that such contests in Flanders were thrown open to Brabanters, and then the Old Crossbow went to Courtrai and carried prizes home, where the new Schout, Jan van Immerseel, welcomed them. In 1494 Margaret of Austria, Philip's sister, honoured the Old Crossbow by shooting on their ground, and in the same year the Duke of Saxony, who had come with Maximilian to honour Philip's Inauguration, successfully hit the popinjay on the ground of the New Crossbow, and having been chosen their king held court in St. Michael's Abbey and entertained the guildsmen.

The great shooting festival of the time was that held at Ghent in 1498 to which the Old Crossbow went, entering the town on the Feast of Holy Cross with 600 horses and 100 wagons all hung with red cloth, competitors sitting in the wagons. The number of shooters who entered Ghent is given as 1,900, but it is not certain that it means they all came from Antwerp or if they did that attendants were not included. The festival lasted for six weeks. In 1500 the Young Guild of Crossbowmen won the prize for the finest entry at the festival at Brussels, all wearing blue tabards and German hats, and they also won a prize for shooting, and on their return home were received with ceremony. In the same year both Guilds of Crossbowmen went to another competition at Brussels on St. Bartholomew's Day and both won prizes, much to the delight of their fellow-townsmen. Shooting at butts had been a popular pastime among the guildsmen since 1401, when Philip the Bold freed them from all legal liability for injuries they might cause to persons while so doing, and it became the chief Sunday recreation. The king of the guild on festival-days wore a gold chain round his neck with the emblem of the guild pendant thereto. All the guild-brothers were fully armed and had red tabards for receiving the Sovereign, purple for processions and black for funerals. In 1501 a shooting festival was held at Antwerp for bowmen of all the towns of Brabant, and those of Lierre and Turnhout won prizes.[1]

[1] Bertrijn; Scribani "Origines Antwerpiensium"; Papebrochius, I; Van Heyst, "Boek der Tyden"; Meteren; M. &. T., II and III; Génard, II.; Gens; Thys.

Feasting played a great part in the lives of such of the people as could afford it. The chief articles of ordinary diet were rye-bread, salt beef, salt pork, salt fish, chickens, fruit, milk, and beer. To the Italians and Spaniards they seemed a people extraordinarily given to drinking, and they supposed they suffered thereby in mind and body, such an observer as Guicciardini, writing in the middle of the sixteenth century, thinking that the damp and humid atmosphere and cloudy, cheerless skies were sufficient excuse for their drinking night and day, and that no better means was at their disposal to drive away melancholy and depression.

But the better class were not excessively given to drinking, though undoubtedly they, like all Netherlanders, were fond of feasts and banquets.

Births, marriages, and deaths all excused a feast, and their cooks enjoyed an extensive reputation. A marriage feast usually lasted three days and the bride and bridegroom would dress in a costly manner, she wearing different clothes on each day. Golden- and silver-weddings were observed and priests and monks kept the fiftieth anniversary of celebrating their first Mass. Births and christenings evoked as much feasting as weddings, godfathers and godmothers making handsome presents to the mother, who, when she was able to see her friends again, made a feast for them in return. It was a custom at Antwerp to ask one's father, mother, brother, sister or even son or daughter to be godparent to one's child rather than one's friend.

Funerals were great affairs, the interment being followed by a feast to drive away grief and melancholy, and to it came the nearest relatives and dearest friends who had attended the funeral, while less important mourners had to content themselves with a pot of wine, and a plate of rice well cooked and seasoned. Some made feasts on the days of their patron-saints or at Shrovetide, or on any occasion which offered a decent excuse, for, as Guicciardini says, they were a people fond of joy and pleasure, and would go thirty, thirty-five, or forty miles for the Kermess in the summer or to a wedding. On the last night of the old year it was customary for folk to go into the streets masked and dressed up, singing in the new year with revelry.[1]

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were four principal religious processions (Ommegangen) at Antwerp, namely that of the Circumcision, held on Trinity Sunday in honour of the relic brought by Crusaders from the Holy Land; that of the Holy Sacrament held on the Thursday after the last mentioned festival; that of the Assumption of Our Lady, patroness of the town, in August; and that of St. George, which originated in the rejoicing after the victory of Kloppersdyke.

[1] Guicciardini; M. & T., III.

The processions were composed of the members of the trade guilds (ambachten), the military guilds, the town musicians and servants, the councillors and the Magistrates and, in the case of the procession of the Circumcision, the prelates, abbots, monks and any pilgrims who chanced to be in the town, also the various fraternities and sisterhoods. An imposing feature were the wagons on which were represented scenes from Old and New Testaments and figures of saints with their emblems. Guicciardini says that in his time a figure of Antigonus,—presumably that made in 1534 by Peter Coecke—was drawn along and that after it walked some who were made to seem as if one of their hands had been cut off. The town painter usually supervised and controlled all the arrangements, designing the "histories" on the wagons, looking after the "properties" belonging to the town and returning them to the Eeckhof in which they were kept, and finally presiding at the feast given to those who had taken part in the procession.[1]

On the days of the procession it was the custom to decorate the streets and put up booths of foliage before the houses. In the time of Maximilian and Philip the Feast of Circumcision was the most important in pomp and splendour, and for centuries it had been the chief town festival. Before it took place couriers were sent to the Abbots of Brabant and Flanders inviting them to come to it, and sometimes eight or ten accepted. The silver case containing the relic was carried beneath a costly canopy escorted by four torch-bearers.[2] In addition to these there were two processions connected with the Burg Church named Loykens Ommegang and the Palm Procession. The latter was held on Palm Sunday. After a distribution of branches of palm had been made the procession was formed at the Church of Our Lady and a man representing Christ sat on a wooden ass and was drawn to the Burg Church. In 1487 it was ordered that none should take part in this but those who had been to the Holy Land.

We have seen how visits of princes were occasions for festival. So was any event celebrated which was of great importance to Christendom. The entry of Ferdinand and Isabella into Granada was followed by a thanksgiving procession on the 8th of April, 1494, in which the Magistrates and military guilds took part. The Spaniards resident in the town marked their thankfulness by presenting a golden mantle to the Image of Our Lady and gave a feast to the poor of the town; games were held in the Market Place, which lasted for several days. Masquerades were first held in the fifteenth century. The two carnivals in which masks were worn were Shrovetide and Twelfth-night. Besides the processions held in times of rejoicing there

[1] Burbure, "De Antwerpsche Ommegangen."
[2] M. & T., III.

were those when the town was threatened by some danger, as when sickness was slaying the people.

The size of the population of the town in the fifteenth century is difficult to determine precisely. Throughout Brabant it declined slightly between 1437 and 1464 and then fell rapidly until 1472, from which year it increased slightly until 1480, when it dropped precipitately until 1496. From that year it rose. In 1437 there were 3,440 inhabited houses in the town, rich and poor. In 1472 there were 4,510 houses inhabited or not. In 1480 there were 4,465 inhabited houses of the better sort inside the town as well as twenty-five religious establishments with a population of 616 persons and 471 inhabited houses occupied by the poor; the empty houses numbering 182 altogether. Outside the town were 415 houses inhabited by rich people and four religious establishments with a population of 57 and 99 houses inhabited by poor; besides these were 41 empty houses of all sorts. In 1496 there were within the walls 5,960 inhabited houses including religious establishments and 184 uninhabited houses, 5 houses in ruins and 3 not completed; and outside the walls were 626 inhabited houses including 2 religious establishments. There were in addition 15 empty houses and 4 hospitals.[1] We do not know the number of people likely to have been living in each house and so cannot make an exact guess at the number of inhabitants, but Willems calculated the number at 56,690 in 1480 and 68,010 in 1496, all inside the town, though this appears to be much too high a figure.[2] He allows 10 persons for each house, and although some houses in Antwerp no doubt held even a greater number, occupied as they were from cellar to garret, there were not a great number so large at this time.

[1] J. Cuvelier, "Les Dénombrements de Foyers en Brabant, xiv-xvi Siècle."
[2] Willems, "Oude Bevolking," p. 258, etc.

CHAPTER IV

THE GUILD OF THE FOUR CROWNED SAINTS—HERMAN AND DOMINIC DE WAGHEMAKERE—THE BUILDING, DECORATING AND FURNISHING OF CHURCHES AND OTHER BUILDINGS IN LATE POINTED STYLE

THE end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries saw much building at Antwerp, although the belt of town-walls was not enlarged until 1543. The arrival of the merchants demanded the erection of new houses and the increase in the population necessitated the rebuilding of the Mother Church—indeed it was more than half finished by the middle of the fifteenth century—and the setting up of the new parishes led to the rebuilding of the small churches or chapels of St. Walburga, St. James, and St. George.[1] The builders employed were the members of the Guild of the Four Crowned Saints—named so after the patron saints of masons—which comprised masons, stone-cutters, slaters, and paviors.

Among the masons and stone-cutters were the architects who designed the buildings. Their Guild-Chamber on the Cheese Canal was not built until 1531, but these craftsmen had been in the town from early days and had already given their name to Stonecutters' Rampart. Such men as the two Appelmans, father and son; John Tack; Herman de Waghemakere I; Peter de Waghemakere and Lambert Blydeleven, became famous in the first half of the fifteenth century. The new Church of Our Lady had grown up under the direction of these men, and of Master Everaert—the last of the builders in the purest second pointed style—who died in 1473. At his death the choir, the transept, the south aisles and part of the great nave stood completed, also the two west towers as high as the first balustrade; but the nave and transept were only vaulted with wood. For some years little more was achieved owing to want of money and it

[1] This chapter is based on C. van Cauwenbergh's "La Corporation des Quatres Couronnés d'Anvers"; Génard's "Notice sur les Architects Herman et Dominique de Waghemakere," and his "L'Eglise de Notre Dame d'Anvers et le projet d'agrandissement de ce Temple, 1521"; works on architecture by Schayes and Fergusson; on Bertrijn; "Chronyk van Antwerpen"; Piot, "Chron. van Niederlant"; Guicciardini; Le Roy, "Théâtre Sacré de Brabant," II, Bk. 1; Scribani, "Origines Ant."; Papebrochius, I; Diercxsens, III; M. & T., I, III, IV; Gens; Thys.

was decided to leave the south-west tower as it was. Money came to hand and in 1491 the work began again, Herman de Waghemakere II, called the Elder, a pupil of Everaert, being called to succeed his master. Under his guidance the great nave and the greater portion of the north aisle were completed and the north-west tower was carried to the first gallery.

In his work—noticeably in the tower—the simplicity of the second pointed begins to give place to the flamboyant, but what he built is quite in keeping with that by Appelmans, Tack, and Everaert. The names of the many masons and stone-cutters employed on the building convey little to us, nor can we say which of the sculptors named should be praised for adorning the building. Herman de Waghemakere was probably born in Antwerp; he died in 1503 and was buried in the Church of Our Lady. His son Dominic, born in Antwerp about 1460, had been his father's pupil and assistant, and was appointed his successor. In 1518 he finished the Great Church and its tower, completing the latter with a cross in September. Diercxsens says the first intention had been to set up five towers—one on the north and one on the south of the west door, one over the north door, one over the south, and one at the cross—but only the first of these was completed, and no other, except the south-west, was even begun.

This church had been rising in the midst of the town for generations, and yet when it was completed it was thought less perfect than the inhabitants desired, and the Chapter resolved to rebuild the choir on a scale twice as large, making a crypt for it. Perhaps the canons felt that the parish churches built in the last few years stood as rivals to the Mother Church, and therefore wished to place her supremacy beyond question. However this may have been, it is certain that the choir as it stood had not attained the beauty designed for it. While the work was in progress (in 1419) it was discovered that the site chosen lay so low that at very high tides the floor of the choir—that it to say the first portion to be completed—became flooded with Scheldt water. To remedy this defect the floor was raised about 2 feet 6 inches by throwing on it the earth dug up in making the foundations of the tower, but this entailed the loss of the proportions between height and breadth.

The plans for the "New Work," as it was called, were entrusted to Dominic de Waghemakere and Rombaut Keldermans, the noted Mechlin architect, who had already collaborated with Dominic at the building of the Town House at Ghent and of the Steen. The work was begun at once; the choir was to have two rows of windows, towers were to be set over the north and south doors, and the south-west tower was to be completed. Had this plan been carried out Antwerp would have possessed one of the finest churches in the world. On the 14th

of July, 1521, Charles V laid the first stone. The two architects superintended the work until Keldermans' death in 1531.

Unfortunately in 1533, on the night of the 7th of October, a fire caused by the negligent placing of a torch destroyed the "New Work" and the whole church would have perished if the Burgomaster, Lancelot van Ursel, had not led a brave attack on the flames. The roof of the building was destroyed, some of the pillars split by the heat, and havoc made of windows, altars, furniture, books, vestments, pictures, and wooden images of saints.[1] The "New Work" was thereupon abandoned and the canons applied themselves to the restoration of what had suffered injury, Dominic being put in charge of all, who so hastened matters that the cupola at the cross was completed in the next year and a figure of Christ set on it. But in spite of fires and alterations the church we see to-day is substantially the same in form as that completed by Dominic de Waghemakere in 1518, and admired by Charles V and Albert Dürer, and praised far and wide as the latest achievement of the builder's art. Constructed of white stone brought from the quarries of the Abbeys of Afflighem and Dieghem, the church is almost entirely in second pointed style, that is to say, the choir, the great nave, the aisles, the south-west tower, and the north-west tower as high as the first gallery, and is built from a plan drawn in the middle of the fourteenth century. Above the first balustrade comes the addition of Herman de Waghemakere and then, above the gallery and clock-dial, the flamboyant work of Dominic, with a Renaissance summit of later date.

The pure pointed style of the oldest part, that is to say the outside of the choir, was not persisted in for the rest of the church, nor were flying buttresses given to the nave and transept. It is the largest church in the Netherlands, and one of the most admired, but it is imposing rather than beautiful, and, like most of the Netherland ecclesiastical buildings, lacks beautiful proportions and thus loses some of the splendour its size should give it. The nave is of six bays and the six aisles are divided by rows of clustered columns. There are chapels built in the aisles and the ambulatory has five radiating from it, and a large chapel borders the east side of each transept. The fame of the church spread far and wide, not only on account of its size and beauty, the sumptuous embellishments of the interior and the number of altars set up therein, but also on account of the magnificence of the services celebrated by the Dean and canons and other clergy. The church was so well served that a hundred Masses could be said each day, and Dürer described it as being so large that many Masses could be sung in it at the same time without

[1] The chroniclers exaggerate who say that all the church was destroyed except the old choir and the tower. A very interesting picture of the fire was exhibited in 1915 at the Modern Gallery in New Bond Street.

interfering with each other, and that citizen of music-loving Nuremberg says that the best musicians to be found were employed in the services. If the demand for the erection of new parishes at the time of "Quaey Wereld" makes it appear that the commons had difficulty in obtaining the attention of the clergy, there is nothing to show that there was as a result any weakening of the desire to assist in the building and furnishing of the church. The spread of Luther's doctrines was considered to have been responsible for a falling-off in almsgiving which took place in later years, but the builders had left the church as finished in the year after the monk had first raised his voice against Rome. Other causes were responsible for a diminution of alms complained of by the ecclesiastics in 1488. In truth the growing wealth of Antwerp attracted hordes of such as lived on the munificence of "the faithful" and would settle wherever riches were to be found.

After the heavy taxation entailed by the wars against France and Flanders and the needs of the town, the almsgivers found less to offer and more who desired to share what was given. Yet the rich inhabitants were still able to spend much in adorning the Church of Our Lady. As soon as a portion of it was completed it was handed over to one of the Fraternities which would undertake to furnish it and provide for the services held therein. For instance a large chapel was assigned to the Fraternity of Our Lady, patroness of the town and of the church, and here at the expense of the brethren was sung each evening a Salve Regina with beautiful music. Another chapel was given to the Fraternity of the Holy Sacrament, and here also vespers were sung each evening with music.

Also the Fraternity of the Circumcision, the Knights of the Holy Sacrament and the Fraternity of the Hermit Anthony had chapels under their charge. By the end of the fifteenth century all the guilds had their chapels or altars. Beneath the cupola where nave and transept cross stood the altar of Our Lady, marking the spot where 600 years before the wonder-working image of the Virgin had been found hanging to the branch of a tree. It is said fifty-seven altars were burnt in the fire of 1533 and many wooden images of saints, including a giant St. Christopher, who, as patron saint of travellers, was represented standing at the door to welcome all who entered. The altars were furnished with pictures by the best painters in the town; in 1508–11 Quentin Metsys painted *The Entombment* for the altar of the Cabinet Makers. Fire and Protestant frenzy have destroyed almost all such treasures.[1] No windows remain to reveal the art of the Antwerp glass-maker of the earlier Gothic period.

But neither paintings, nor coloured glass, nor sculptured

[1] The works of art by painters, sculptors, glass-makers and other members of St. Luke's Guild are dealt with in Chapter V.

figures of saints, nor any of the rich furniture of the church appealed to the ordinary citizen of Antwerp so much as the music. There had been a school of choristers attached to the church from the early part of the fifteenth century. They lived in a house in the Milk Market under the care of a music master; and singing-chaplains were chosen from clergy and laity alike. In 1482 there were sixty-one singers taking part in the services. Master Nicolas de Hagha was organist of the church and after many years' service he lived to see the body of the church almost completed. He died in 1501. A still more famous musician was Master Godfrey de Neve—formerly organist to the chapel of Philip the Good—who came to spend his last years in Antwerp.

On the night before the Procession of Our Lady in August and on Christmas Eve it was the custom to play the organ to enchant the throngs of people who came to the church to adore the Virgin or to kneel before the crêche set up to represent the humble family at Bethlehem. On these occasions, we are told, de Hagha allowed the aged Master of the Ducal Chapel to take his place at the organ.[1] The Fraternity of Our Lady particularly relied on music for the services in their chapel, and in 1508 they introduced instrumentalists into the church for the first time. By the beginning of the sixteenth century three large organs were in the church.

Architects, masons, carvers in stone, carvers in wood, painters, glass-makers, goldsmiths, book-binders, illuminators, jewellers, embroiderers—all had done their share in erecting or furnishing this wonderful edifice, more completely adorned than any church north of the Alps. It had grown up day by day together with the community itself, and stood completed in the very heart of the town, now attaining commercial supremacy over all rivals and thronged by men of all nations, whom the spirit of the time had awakened to seek fortune in trade and commerce. The great tower had grown out of its pure style of second pointed when the second story was completed. Passing from the supervision of Herman to that of Dominic de Waghemakere, it took on the full flamboyant form. It becomes less pleasing as the eye moves upwards, yet it is majestic, and the octagonal upper story and the buttressed flèche show Dominic was one of those artists, so often found in Antwerp, who, if unable to achieve the perfection attained by first-rate masters, could impress on their work something characteristic of the town.[2]

Dominic was in architecture what Quentin Metsys was in painting. The period now called Gothic was drawing to a close

[1] "Le musique à Anvers," Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, 1906.

[2] Such men as Quentin Metsys, Josse of Cleves, Old Brueghel, the Brunswick Monogrammist, Jordeans, Teniers, Lambeaux. The Renaissance work at the summit of the tower is a much later addition. Fergusson gives the height of the tower as 406 feet.

in all arts, yet before its complete expiration these artists adapted it to the needs of the growing town. But the "Italian Manner" had found its way into Antwerp before these two were laid in their graves. The influence of the Renaissance had no effect on the work of Dominic, but Quentin was keenly alive to it.

Standing at the topmost gallery of the tower in the year in which it was completed (1518) one saw beyond the girdle of walls set round the town at its fourth enlargement the flat country of the Land of Ryen, and beyond the Scheldt that of the Land of Waes. Everywhere were pleasant villages, hamlets, farms, gardens. On a clear day one could descry without difficulty the quiet town of Mechlin, until the year before the home of young Charles, who was now grown old enough to go to Spain to take his kingdom and to scheme for his election to the Imperial Crown. The streets below had recently been trod by Maximilian, by Charles and his aunt Margaret, and by the Archduke Ferdinand. The painter Patinir had become a free-master of the Guild of St. Luke three years before, and then Thomas More might have been seen walking across the churchyard below. Quentin Metsys had only just finished his portraits of Erasmus and Ægidius for presentation to More. One could see far down the Scheldt—to the sea it is said.

Coming up the river one would see the town's finest aspect when within sound of the bells speaking a welcome from the town. To unaccustomed ears the bells of the towns in Holland and Belgium sound too noisy and too harsh, but they have a world of meaning for all who love the Low Countries. The tower of the old Romanesque church was left standing beside the new one until 1481, when it was thrown down after its bells had been carried to the new tower. Three of these bells belonged to the town—for the tower had always served as the town belfry—and the rest to the church.[1] Some bells had been hung already in the new tower. The Gate-Bell in the morning and the Thief-Bell, Watch-Bell, or Round-Bell at night were the usual ringings at this period. They called for the opening and closing of the town gates. The evening bell rang at eleven o'clock and all tavern-keepers had then to close their establishments and no one might walk in the streets without carrying a light. This bell was answered by others stationed at each town gate and then the Watch began its round. At this time there were watchers in the tower whose duty it was to sound the bell. The tocsin served to give warning of storms or fire or to call the people to arms. After the tower of the old church had been demolished and its bells hung in the new tower, the latter became the town belfry. One of these bells, called *Orida,* was used as the tocsin. It had been cast in 1316 by Master Gerard of Liége.[2]

[1] F. Donnet, "Les Cloches d'Anvers."

[2] This bell and those named Carolus and Mary still hang in the tower.

The bell which sounded the hours, *Gabriel*, was founded, together with *Mary*, in 1459. It was at first the chief bell or "bourdon" of the town, but when the new great bell, *Carolus*, was founded it was superseded and became the hour-bell. The churchwardens, feeling the need of a larger bell than *Gabriel*, decided to found one, but had not the means at their disposal to buy metal. They therefore published an order acquainting the burghers with their project and warning them that on a stated day wagons would go through the streets to collect any pieces of metal, metal pots and candlesticks, which might be offered. The citizens rose to the occasion, and if they had no money produced a variety of metal household utensils, some of material quite useless for the purpose. The Abbot of St. Michael's gave 324 livres of bell-metal. The founding of the bell was entrusted to William de Moer of Bois-le-Duc.

On the 8th of May an order announced that on the following Tuesday the bell would be cast in the churchyard and all were forbidden to approach it for fear of being injured, or to molest the founder or to throw stones into the mass of metal. William de Moer arrived with his brother and two workmen. Some days were spent in digging a trench and in other preparations, and great difficulty was experienced in keeping the furnace at a sufficient heat. This, however, was cleverly surmounted. All the labourers in the town were invited to compete at arousing the fire with bellows, the best blowers to receive as prize a hat with ribbons on it. Twenty-eight competitors appeared and blew night and day. A figure of the Virgin and the arms of the town (the Castle of Antwerp) were stamped on the bell. The founding turned out well, and on the Feast of the Assumption, after vespers, it was christened, with the name of *Carolus*, after the Archduke. It weighed 13,000 livres. As may be imagined there was feasting and wine-drinking at the Town House. *Carolus* was hung in the tower in October of 1509. There was no carillon of bells until 1540.

We have seen that the request of the inhabitants in 1477 for the establishment of new parishes was ultimately granted. This necessitated there building or enlarging of the Churches of St. James, St. George, and St. Walburga, for the humbler structures dedicated to these saints were no longer large enough. The old Chapel of St. James in the Kipdorp was demolished and the duty of erecting a magnificent church was entrusted to Herman de Waghemakere. Its chief feature was to be a tower which should rival that of the Mother Church. The tower was begun in 1491, and the church five or six years later. The actual work was carried on by Dierick de Coffermakere, the elder, an eminent member of the Guild of the Four Crowned Saints, who had been employed on the Mother Church, but Herman, after drawing the plans, supervised the undertaking until his

death, when Dominic took his place, being assisted after 1525 by Rombaut Keldermans. The choir was completed in 1507, and before vèspers on the day of the first Mass the image of St. James was carried in procession to its new home from the neighbouring Hospital of St. James, where it had rested since the destruction of the old chapel. The remainder of the church was nearly two hundred years in building, and the square, flamboyant tower has never been finished and was at its present height in 1533.

It is the largest and most beautiful church in the town after the Great Church, and is in third pointed style, of which it is a magnificent specimen. Its proportions are good and its decoration simple. At the time the gifts of the faithful did not suffice to defray the cost of all the churches, monasteries, and almshouses being set up in Antwerp, and at the very outset it became difficult to collect sufficient money to carry on the work. It had not got far when Herman died (1503). In 1518 the churchwardens complained to Charles that alms were falling off and obtained leave to hold a lottery of jewels and other objects of value for the purpose of raising funds to clear them of debt and enable them to recommence the work—a practice often resorted to in such emergencies.[1] Services were being held in the completed portion of the church and the cost of maintaining them considerably added to their embarrassment. The profit derived from the lottery enabled them to recommence work, but five years later they were in debt again and they represented to Charles that while the parish was growing the almsgiving was not, and it is interesting to see that they attributed this to the spread of Luther's doctrines in Antwerp. The religious troubles of Philip's reign had arisen before the work could be completed.

Not a vestige of the church built to St. George remains—begun with the commencement of the sixteenth century—nor of St. Walburga's, within the Burg, which was greatly enlarged at this time, from plans by Herman de Waghemakere. As in St. James's the nave and aisles of the latter were separated by two rows of cylindrical columns with foliaged chapters, and as in all Herman's churches the triforium was replaced by flamboyant balconies—flamboyant being the style of the whole church. The additions to the old church consisted of a choir and two aisles, and in constructing them the architect had great difficulties to contend with. He did not touch the old tower which stood over the crypt of St. Walburga and St. Dympna. In this case also Dominic completed what his father had begun. The church was demolished in 1816.

Several of the religious orders added to their monasteries or rebuilt their churches. We have seen that the church of the

[1] Alphonse Goovaert's "Construction de l'Eglise de Saint Jacques à Anvers," 1891.

Abbey of St. Michael was completed in 1476. In 1501 the tower was struck by lightning and was then rebuilt. In 1528 on the 9th of March the roof of the church caught fire owing to the carelessness of some workmen. The fire began about three o'clock in the afternoon and before seven all the roof was consumed and the great tower began to burn. It raged until midnight and the tower was completely gutted. The wind was very high and the neighbouring houses were in great peril. The damage was repaired by the end of the year but at great cost.[1] In 1528 the Palace within the Cloister, in which the Sovereign or Regent lodged when visiting the town, was rebuilt. The tower was rebuilt after the fire and it stood until 1830, when all the Abbey buildings were destroyed by the bombardment from the Citadel. The tower—late pointed in style—was the most remarkable part of the church. It was square for two-thirds of its height, the rest being an octagon pierced by eight pointed windows. At the summit was a bulb-shaped spire of the pattern so common in the Netherlands, supporting a figure of St. Michael and the Dragon.

The Dominicans threw down their ugly old church in 1549, having already begun a new one. This church fortunately remains to this day under the name of the Church of St. Paul. The building went on until hindered by the religious trouble in 1571, and yet was uninfluenced by the spirit of the Renaissance. Indeed, the pointed arch was as slow in disappearing in churches in Antwerp in the face of the Renaissance as the round one had been to give place at Bruges to the pointed. The façade, nave, and aisles of this magnificent church were designed by Dominic de Waghemakere, and it has much in common with the Church of St. James, but it has no transept and the choir no aisles or chapels. The monastery was rebuilt at the same time. The present tower is seventeenth-century work. The Franciscans or Recollets began the choir of their first church in 1492 and completed it by the end of the century.

The Carmelites were only established in Antwerp towards the end of the fifteenth century, and that too after a long fight with the Chapter. Mary of Burgundy had greatly favoured the order and in 1479 had made a vow to build a fine monastery for the monks in Antwerp if her husband came back victorious from his campaign against France. Mary did not live to complete her vow, but Maximilian took the matter in hand. The Magistrates and the Chapter strenuously resisted their coming, for there were too many monks in Antwerp, and much money was being expended in church-building at the time. It was only in 1493 that the foundation stone of the monastery of the Carmelites was laid—in the name of Philip the Fair—by his Chancellor.

[1] "Die excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen," II, and "Chron. van Antwerpen."

The cloister which they built in the Tanners' Street was a fine one, and the high and beautiful choir of the church was first used in 1510.

The sixteenth century was not far advanced when the Augustinians appeared in Antwerp and established themselves in buildings behind the Mint. The church which they built, now St. Andrew's, was probably after the plans of Dominic de Waghemakere, and has, like St. James's and St. Paul's, a nave divided into three by cylindrical columns. It has a transept, but no lateral chapels. Like the other churches it is in third pointed style. The Augustinians espoused the cause of Luther and were expelled in 1522, before their church was quite completed; the doors and windows were walled up and the furniture and bells were sold. Seven years later the church was dedicated to St. Andrew and a parish was assigned to it. The bells, however, had been melted, and metal being as scarce as when *Carolus* was founded twenty years before, the curé resorted to a similar method of getting it for new ones. The Carthusians did no building during this period, but the Alexians and the Black Sisters built chapels at the end of the fifteenth century, the Beguinage was rebuilt after a fire, and in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the Falcon nuns and the Victorines did likewise. In fact, rebuilding was in progress on all sides and fine temples were taking the place of humble chapels built when Antwerp was a town of secondary importance.

Several new hospitals or almshouses were founded by charitable burghers. These were always for a small number of old people. For instance, Nicolas Boodt founded a hospital for eight poor old women in the Long New Street in honour of St. Barbara; Peter van Dale founded one for six poor women in the Short St. Anne's Street; Jan van den Bist, a tanner, founded one for sixteen poor old women and a servant near Falcons' Cloister; Mary Feys founded the Hospital of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin in the street between the Monasteries of the Dominicans and the Franciscans for seven old women; a rich merchant, named Anthony van Ruille, founded one for twelve poor tradesmen or artisans and a priest at the corner of the present Prince's Street. Other foundations of a similar sort date from this period.

Antwerp had a peculiar system of looking after the indigent, namely, by means of eight substantial burghers elected for the purpose, and called Almoners (Almoezeniers). Only such a man was chosen almoner as had a wife at least twenty-four years old who would become a "Mother of the Poor." The almoners were first established in 1458 to take the place of the Tables or Chapels of the Holy Ghost which existed in the churches for the relief of the destitute. Their duties were always increasing, and if they could not raise as much money in the town as they

TOWER AND WEST END OF OUR LADY'S CHURCH AT ANTWERP

MADE FROM WENZEL HOLLAR'S ETCHING OF 1649

needed, they had to advance it out of their own pockets. It was also their business to look after foundlings, to attend the weekly distribution of bread at the Church of Our Lady and at the giving away of coal and wood and the like, and to supervise the reception of persons into the hospitals. Their most important achievement during this period was the institution of the Foundling Hospital in 1532, two similar houses being founded a few years later.

The old Town House was no larger than those to be found in small towns, but it stood until the reign of Philip II. It was not one hundred and fifty years old when its condition had become so unsafe that "to tremble like the Town House" became a familiar saying; perhaps it was injured by the fire which in 1541 consumed the neighbouring Cloth Hall and other buildings in the Market Place and in the churchyard. At all events the Magistrates decided at this time to rebuild it and entrusted the drawing of the plans to Dominic de Waghemakere. This eminent architect would no doubt have raised as fine a structure as that which he and Rombaut Keldermans erected at Ghent, but when the town was put in peril by Van Rossem in 1542 the materials collected for the work were made use of to strengthen the walls of the town, and Dominic's Town House never came into being. He died soon afterwards, and by the time the work was resumed the Renaissance had superseded the pointed style. The most important civic building of this time was the new Butchers' Hall, of which the beginning and completing is noted by the chroniclers as being very worthy of remark. It stands in the Butchers' Street near the Cattle Market. Begun in 1501, it was completed in 1503, and the members of the Butchers' Guild began to sell their meat in it. Herman de Waghemakere directed the building operations. The Guild was rich enough to decorate it handsomely within. It is an interesting specimen of the civic architecture of third pointed and is very pleasing to the eye. It has a gable and turrets surmounted by spires, being built of bricks in rows alternating with lines of stone. In 1520 Charles V determined to rebuild the Steen—that is to say, the part of the Burg which was used as a prison. Dominic de Waghemakere and Rombaut Keldermans erected the present building.

Ever since merchants had congregated in the town they had met at a certain house in Wool Street to transact their business. This house had a spacious courtyard and, being near to the Great Market Place, was exceedingly convenient for the purpose. The name "Bourse" was given to the house—a name first applied to a somewhat similar meeting-place at Bruges. In the first years of the sixteenth century it became apparent that the mercantile community had outgrown the old building. In 1515 the Bourse was rebuilt in Garden Street by Dominic de Waghemakere at the cost of the merchants living and trading

in the neighbourhood. This Bourse of 1515 came to be known as the Old Bourse and in its turn proved insufficient, so in 1531 a larger building was erected between the Meer and the Long New Street by Dominic, who based the plans on his earlier ones of 1515.

Many merchants, including the English, had built fine houses and shops near the Old Bourse and bitterly opposed the removal of the business centre. Indeed, the English in particular had good cause to complain, for it was only recently that the town had given them houses in Wool or Old Bourse Street. However, Charles V issued an Ordinance closing the old building. The English established a Bourse of their own some years later. The Old Bourse had a gallery or portico over two of its four sides supported by eight cylindrical stone columns. It was in flamboyant style and had one tower. The New Bourse was considered one of the most remarkable buildings in the world both for its own sake and for the great gathering of merchants attracted to it daily during the hey-day of Antwerp's prosperity. It cost the town the great sum of 300,000 golden crowns. It was a rectangular court and round the sides of it stretched a portico resting on thirty-eight sculptured columns, no two of which were alike in ornamentation. The style, like all of Dominic's work, was flamboyant. Four doors, one at each side, admitted the throng of merchants. The Florentine Guicciardini thought it so fine a building that scarcely any meeting-place for merchants could be found to equal it. Above the Bourse were shops in which at a later period the painters sold their works. Two towers crowned the building. The Antwerp Bourse became the pattern for all similar edifices. Indeed, when Sir Thomas Gresham had conceived the idea of building the Royal Exchange, which was an imitation of the Bourse at Antwerp, he caused all the materials—even the statue of Queen Elizabeth—to be prepared in that town, and the supervision of the work was entrusted to the architect Hendrickx, a native of it.[1]

In 1500 was built the Lombards Tower behind the Town House and *The Moon* on the Market.[2]

In 1512 the House of the Old Crossbow, named *Spaengien*, was converted into a Pand and in 1516 the salesmen put up their wares there for the first time.

The English merchants had desired to build a Pand for the exhibition of their wares in the garden of their house in Wool Street and to rebuild the house itself, throwing in the one next door. Dominic de Waghemakere drew a plan for the new

[1] The "New Bourse" at Antwerp was burnt in 1581, and another built which met with a similar fate. The present building—opened in 1872—resembles that of Dominic.

[2] *The Moon* was destroyed by fire 1576. The Vierschare was reconstructed in 1540 but in Renaissance style.

house, but owing to disputes between the Sovereigns of the two countries the English merchants retired temporarily from Antwerp and the house was not rebuilt. Other foreign merchants seem to have been satisfied with the houses in which they were installed and not to have planned their enlargement. Little rebuilding was done by the guilds. The most important building of a domestic nature was that undertaken by Dominic at the corner of Long New Street and the present Margrave Street for Jan van Immerseel, a member of one of the richest families in the Netherlands, which, in addition to this member, supplied many schouts and other officers to the town and councillors to the Sovereign. The only portion of the house now remaining is the chapel called " of Burgundy," described as a gem of architecture.[1]

This chapel owes its name to the coats-of-arms of Philip and Joanna painted on the walls, recalling the double Spanish marriages celebrated at the time. Génard describes it as a perfect specimen of what the alliance between architecture, painting, and sculpture could produce, nor was it omitted to place in its windows the beautiful glass for which the Antwerp workmen were so justly famous. The house was constructed in 1496-7, and was the most beautiful built in Antwerp by a citizen or foreign merchant.

At a later time (about 1516) Dominic drew the plans for the house built in the present Prince's Street by the Burgomaster, Arnold van Lierre. It was known as the House of Lierre, and was just finished when Dürer saw it and gave it praise.

It stretched to Venis Street and Veken Street and had a fine frontage and a magnificent tower. Warehouses adjoined the residential part of the building but did not detract from its grandeur nor spoil the beauty of its gardens. Charles V stayed in it when he visited the town in 1521. Arnold died in 1529, and a few years later the house was bought by the town.

In 1539 the House of Aachen or Aix was built near the present-day Jesuits' House for Erasmus Schetz. It was so called from the fact that it stood on the site of the old depot of the Aix-la-Chapelle merchants.

Conflagrations were the terror of all men, for far into the sixteenth century many houses, even those belonging to the rich, were of wood. In 1503 so many fires occurred that the Magistrates were compelled to take measures for the public safety. Not only did they decree that tubs of water must be placed before doors, but that thatched roofs must be replaced by tiles within six years in streets through which the Procession passed and in ten years in other parts of the town.

[1] I have not seen the chapel and rely on Génard, " Notice sur les Architectes Herman et Dominique de Waghemakere," *Bull. Comms. Roy. d'Art et d'Archéologie*, 1869.

The worst fire of all was in 1541. It originated in Maelderijstrate (rue des Emaux) which joins the Great Market Place to the Glove Market, and consumed some thirty houses either in the street or in the Great Market or in the churchyard. Among those which perished were the Old Cloth Hall with its contents of velvets, silks, and damasks.

When Dürer was at Antwerp in 1520-21 the Magistrates had in mind the rebuilding of the fortifications and took his advice on the matter, but their desire seems to have been prompted rather by a wish to strengthen the defences of the town than to increase its size. This scheme was long delayed—indeed, the invaders appeared before the gates before its importance was realized. Many new streets were made and markets paved and canals vaulted. It was not the custom for a name to be given officially to a street when it was opened, but for a time it would be spoken of as " the new street," and later it came to be named from the place to which it led or from a house close by or from the trade followed by its inhabitants. Several of the gates which had formed part of the old fortifications of the town had been left standing, and the crowded condition of the town at this time demanded their demolition. In 1518 and the following years the Cow Gate, the Brewers' Gate, St. Catherine's Gate, and the Vine Gate disappeared. The Meer Gate was left standing until 1541.

The streets of the town at the end of the fifteenth century were narrow and the houses huddled together. When new streets were made they were given a greater width, but space was limited within the walls of the town and the result was an excessive crowding of families into houses as the population grew.

The greater part of the work of Dominic de Waghemakere had been done in his native town, but he had assisted his father in the construction of the Church of St. Gommaire at Lierre and completed it after his death. He was consulted in the building of the Tower of St. Peter's at Louvain, and, with other architects, advised on the plans for the Bread House at Brussels. With Rombaut Keldermans he began the Town House at Ghent, but it was never completed in Gothic style. Dominic spent his whole life in his native town. He lived in his own house in Cloister Street near St. Michael's Abbey and later in St. Catherine's Rampart, and had seven children by his wife, Catherine Melys. He was Dean of the Guild of the Four Crowned Saints in 1510 and amassed a fortune. In 1542 he died and was buried in the Church of Our Lady. From the time of his death begins another epoch in the growth of the town, for in the same year Marten van Rossem invaded Antwerp territory and showed that more modern fortifications were needed to secure the town. When built they were to embrace a larger circumference so that all those dwellings near Antwerp which had been burnt in the

war could be rebuilt within the town. It was a new Antwerp which sprang up during the succeeding years. Renaissance architecture had appeared in the town a few years before Dominic's death and pointed buildings were erected long afterwards, but with him the Gothic period may be said to have closed.

LIBRARY

CHAPTER V

THE GUILD OF ST. LUKE

IN speaking of the Chamber of Rhetoric named "the Violet," we have noticed its connexion with the Guild of St. Luke. Indeed this Guild controlled all who practised art and poetry, excepting those who were members of the Guild of the Four Crowned Saints and some metal-workers of the Smiths' Guild.

As early as 1382 the gold- and silver-smiths, the painters, the glass-makers, the embroiderers, the sculptors in wood, and the enamellers obtained leave from the Magistrates to form an association which in 1442 became a Guild.[1] It seems that at first the goldsmiths were the most important branch of the Guild, but by the middle of the fifteenth century their place had been taken by the painters; and by that time carvers in stone, printers, and others had gained admission.[2] The rules of the Guild provided that no one could practise any of these trades unless he was a poorter and a member of the Guild. The members placed themselves under the protection of St. Luke. From time to time regulations were made by the Magistrates dealing with admission to the Guild, apprenticeship, fees for entrance, and for securing good workmanship and the use of good materials.

In 1460 the Chapter built the Pand in the churchyard of Our Lady and the painters sold their work in it until 1540, when they moved to the shops over the new Bourse. Evidently there were not painters enough in 1481 to supply all the demands made upon them, for in that year an arrangement was come to by all parties concerned which permitted the painters of Brussels to sell their work in the Pand of Our Lady, and five years later the monopoly of offering carved wooden altarpieces, pictures, images, tabernacles, and similar church furniture, whether of wood or stone, for sale at fair-time, was granted

[1] Rombouts and Van Lerius, "De Liggeren," etc.; Max Rooses, "Geschiedenis der Antwerpsch Schilderschool"; and Van den Branden, "Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool."

[2] These carvers in stone would have been a separate body from those who assisted the builders, for the latter belonged to the Guild of the Four Crowned Saints. The earlier printers were not such as printed with movable type, and the painters were at first rather colourers of house-fronts, figures and the like.

jointly to the painters of Antwerp and Brussels. At this time wooden altarpieces, carved in relief, gilded and polychromed, were more used in Antwerp than paintings to decorate the altars. The Register of names (Liggeren) of the Guild is still in existence and, so far as such a list of names can do so, it tells its history from 1453 to 1615. The Guild possessed an altar in the Great Church and occupied a house called the *Goat* in Brewers' Street as a Guild House until they moved (1505) to the first floor of the *Fur Cloak* in the Market Place. Three years after this move the Deans of the Guild got leave for the members to sell all sorts of pictures in this house or in their private houses as well as in the Pand. It was in this house that the Antwerp painters gave a supper to Dürer in 1520, and here they remained until 1530, when they took a house on the Meer called the *Tree*, owned by the Arquebusiers, and furnished it magnificently.

Unfortunately the Register of the Guild throws scanty light on the achievements of the men whose names it enumerates, but it shows how the Guild grew in numbers together with the importance of the town. In the first year recorded in the Register (1453) there were only 35 members of the Guild, but in 1490 there were 212. The 35 comprised 15 who are described as painters, 1 as a colourer of statues, 3 as sculptors, 1 as a book-binder and book-writer, 1 as an embroiderer, 6 as glass-makers (including glass-painters), and of the other 8 no description is given.

In the year this history opens five men were received as free-masters of the Guild and three were admitted as apprentices. At that time Jan Snellaert was the chief painter in Antwerp, and may be considered as the founder of the Antwerp school, although he left the town before his death, which occurred in 1480. No doubt the painters were very active during the last quarter of the century, but we cannot identify their work.

In 1462 Lieven van Lathem, the Court Painter, had settled in the town and he died there in 1492. Many foreign painters followed him to Antwerp from Flanders, Brabant, Hainaut, Holland, Guelders, Cleves, Westphalia, Cologne and the rest of the Lower Rhine. The history of Antwerp painting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is that of these strangers—Quentin Metsys, Goossen van der Weyden, Josse of Cleves, Jan Gossart of Mabuse, Joachim Patinir, Marinus of Romerswael, Jan of Hemessen, Peter Aertszen of Amsterdam, Antonio Moro of Utrecht. Franz Floris is the only native of the town who rose to fame. A picture in the Antwerp Gallery of a Festival of the Armed Guilds is usually regarded as the earliest existing specimen of Antwerp painting and yet this was not painted much before the accession of Philip the Fair.[1] It is an interesting picture. The Prince of the Guild sits in the guild-house garden, and the members with their friends and servants are amusing

[1] No. 529. It seems to be at all events by a Brabant painter.

themselves in various ways, while their jesters go through some pleasantries in the centre. It is not very different from the productions of the Flemings of the time, but the introduction of the two children in the foreground is a new incident, and one which was developed later by Metsys. Quentin Metsys [1] was admitted a free-master of the Guild of St. Luke in 1491.

Many discussions have not settled the respective claims of Antwerp and Louvain to have given him birth, but the evidence seems in favour of the latter. He was probably the Quentin who was born about 1466, the second son of Josse Metsys, a well-known metal-worker of Louvain, and was probably brought up to his father's trade.[2] Molanus speaks of the iron bracket, made to support the covering of the front, in St. Peter's at Louvain, as his work.[3] Hitherto the Antwerp painters had made no mark for themselves and none of the best pictures painted in the Netherlands since the death of Charles the Bold had come from their studios. Soon after Hugo van der Goes had completed the *Adoration of the Shepherds* for Portinari, now in the Uffizi, he retired into the Augustinian monastery of the Red Cloister, near Brussels, and there in 1482 he died. The great painter of the school at that moment was Hans Memling, who from 1479 onward produced at Bruges not only the pictures in St. John's Hospital in that town, but also the St. Christopher Triptych in the Bruges Gallery and the Crucifixion at Lübeck, the latter being dated the year in which Quentin was received into the Antwerp Guild. While Memling was painting these pictures it may well have seemed that the traditions of the early Flemish school would survive for another two or three generations, but in fact early Flemish painting was summed up in him and the great artists of the future sought new paths, even resorting to the imitation of Italian or other foreign schools in preference to reproducing too closely the style which had been carried as far as was possible towards perfection by their predecessors.

Gerard David, who settled at Bruges in 1483, was one of the first to recognize this necessity, but at first his work was that of a close follower of the old style. Into the works of the Bruges painters began to creep Italian buildings and ornaments imitated from the Greeks and Romans and little putti and garlands of flowers characteristic of the Italian Renaissance. Memling died in 1494 and the painters of Bruges never again rivalled those of Antwerp.

Quentin was twenty-five years old at the time of his admission, and so was rather younger than Jerome Bosch and about the same age as Albert Bouts, who were the most famous painters

[1] Spelt also Matsys and Massys, and in several other ways.
[2] See Van Even, "L'ancienne école de Peinture de Louvain."
[3] Molanus in "Commission Royale d'histoire," Brussels, 1861, p. 610.

after Memling. It is not possible to name pictures painted by Bosch or Bouts in the years preceding the appearance of Quentin, but to those already mentioned as being by Memling may be added other pictures of the day, the *Legend of St. Lucy* in the Church of St. James at Bruges (1480) and the *Virgin among Women Saints* in the Brussels Gallery (1489), both by painters whose names are unknown; also the Cambyses and Sisamnes pictures, now in the Bruges Gallery, on which David was already at work. There was evidently a great opportunity for painters in the growing town of Antwerp, and in the year after Quentin was admitted we find that four out of the thirteen admitted free of the Guild came from Bruges. Quentin was admitted as a free-master without undergoing the usual four years' apprenticeship, which is to be explained only by his being at that time a trained painter.

There is such a paucity of information about Metsys' life that tradition has been called in to add interest to his career. Van Mander relates that in his time the story went that his health gave way when he was still young and that while convalescent he realized that he would never be strong enough to return to his work as a smith; that to occupy his time and to earn money—for his mother was dependent on him—he put colour to rough pictures of saints which it was the custom to give to the poor at Shrove-tide, and that in so doing he discovered his skill in painting. Another tradition says he left the forge to please the woman he wished to marry, or else to win her father's approval. This lady would be his first wife, Alyt van Tuylt or van Tuel. Both or either of the traditions may well be true, but the latter conveys a wrong impression as to the sort of man a smith was, for in those days he was a veritable artist in metal.

The bracket in St. Peter's at Louvain is the only smith's work which is generally acknowledged to be Quentin's, but some would add to this the well-grill in the Glove Market at Antwerp and the Tomb of Edward VI. We do not know what master taught him painting, and we have no reliable information about his productions between 1491 and 1508—when he began his two chief works—except that in 1504 he finished a picture for the Church of San Salvador at Valladolid. A *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Brussels Gallery [1] is now thought to be an early work of his, and through their similarity with it a group of less important works may be given him, including a small *Virgin and Child* at Brussels, of which there is a replica or copy in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, a triptych in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Bruges, and a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* in the Städel Gallery at Frankfort. Perhaps to this early

[1] No. 540.

period should be assigned the *Magdalene* and the *Weeping Woman* in the Kaiser Frederick Museum at Berlin.

In this group of pictures the artist appears a follower of the older Flemings, but the best of them—the larger of the two at Brussels—foreshadows many of his later characteristics, for he has aimed at making both the Mother and the Child human. Another group of pictures by him are in the Antwerp Gallery—*St. Christopher*, the heads of Christ and the Virgin (versions of which are in the National Gallery), and a Christ-Face. The *St. Christopher* was suggested by that painted by Memling for Moreel, but it is far more realistic. The three heads are of an older fashion than the *St. Christopher*, but that of the Virgin is notable as being the first appearance of a model whom we see repeatedly in his pictures, and who became a type of beautiful womanhood to him.

His first wife died about 1505, and in 1508 or 1509 he married Catherine Heyns, the daughter of the keeper of the Pilgrim Inn in the Old Corn Market. Was this the lady we see so often in his pictures? Over and over again she appears, changed a little sometimes, but always easily recognized by her reddish hair, delicate features and pensive look.

A group of Crucifixion pieces, painted during the first years of the century, are also assigned to him and his followers, and are to be found in the Mayer van der Bergh Collection at Antwerp, in the Liechtenstein Collection at Vienna, in the National Gallery, in the Old Pinakothek at Munich, and in the Harrach Collection at Vienna. There is a strong similarity between all of these. In each St. John stands at the foot of the Cross with two, three, or four of the Holy Women, Mary Magdalene clasping the foot of the Cross in an agony of grief. The backgrounds of the pictures differ, but are similar in character, the same buildings being sometimes introduced. In the middle distance men move to and fro on horse and foot. Metsys, or whoever it was who painted these backgrounds if it was not he, was fond of introducing a man carrying a ladder. The Harrach picture has wings of the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, and *St. Helena*, and is not only larger than the others of the group, but has three Crosses instead of one and exhibits a greater number of figures in the foreground. Attempts to give this scene in a very dramatic style were not new in Flemish art, but there is in the best of these pictures a constraint which adds a poignancy lost in the excesses of some of the imitators of Roger van der Weyden. Perhaps the Van der Bergh or the Liechtenstein picture was the prototype from which many pictures were made with slight variations. In the same style are *The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* in the Brussels Gallery (now attributed to Quentin in the Catalogue) and a small Pietà in the Louvre.

The completion of these groups of pictures brings us to 1507

and 1508 when Metsys set to work on his two greatest works—the *Entombment* at Antwerp and the *Legend of St. Anne* at Brussels—and if the earlier pictures are compared with these last, many similar figures and details will be found reintroduced : a fact which shows a connexion between them all. For instance, the St. Christopher of the Antwerp Gallery appears again as Joseph of Arimathea in the *Entombment*. The children are remarkably alike, whether it is the thoughtful Christ amused by the Book of Hours in the *Virgin Enthroned* at Brussels, or the Infant Christ on St. Christopher's shoulder at Antwerp, or the Baby in the group of the family of Joachim and Anne in the central panel of the *Legend of St. Anne* at Brussels. Perhaps it was his first wife who served as model for his *Virgin Enthroned* (Brussels) and the *Magdalene* (Berlin) and other characters of that group ; certainly she appears no more after the first picture of the lady who is thought to be Catherine Heyns. Catherine, if it be she, henceforth appears frequently and notably as the Virgin in the *Legend of St. Anne*, as the *Magdalene* at Antwerp, as Mary Salome in the *Entombment* at Antwerp, and as the Virgin in the *Virgin and Child* at Berlin. The group of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne in the Harrach picture corresponds closely with the same group in the *Legend of St. Anne* at Brussels, but the figures are reversed. The man carrying a ladder appears in the middle distance in the Calvary scenes in the Liechtenstein Collection and in the National Gallery as well as in the great *Entombment* at Antwerp, and the last presents a sepulchre carved in the rock by Joseph of Arimathea which is to be found in the small Pietà in the Louvre. Such similarities make the products of Quentin's studio easy to recognize, but who can tell for certain which are the works of his own hand ? When Quentin was commissioned to paint the two great works of his life he must have been a famous man, and yet, as if it were to complete the mystery surrounding his early years at Antwerp, the Register of the Guild proves that he had but three pupils before 1510, and that the one who entered his studio in that year was the last he had, and that he never was Dean of the Guild.

The *Entombment*, now in the Gallery at Antwerp, was ordered by the Guild of Cabinet Makers in 1508 to decorate their altar in the Church of Our Lady, but it was not finished until 1511. The right wing sets forth St. John the Evangelist consigned to a cauldron of boiling oil, and that on the left Salome presenting the Baptist's head to her mother seated at table with Herod. The central panel proclaims Quentin the most dramatic painter the school had yet produced, for we no longer see figures taking part in a scene to which they appear half indifferent, nor do they alienate our sympathy by their wild ravings, as do some of the half-demented figures of the earlier school. Here all is in due proportion. A single group of life-sized figures occupies the

entire foreground, while the distant crosses and the tomb hewn in the rock tell of the past tragedy and of the burial which the men and women have come to perform. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea raise the head of Christ as if they wished the world to look on His face once more before He is laid in the tomb. St. John and the Women are too much absorbed by their own grief for their attention to wander for a moment from the task of burial; but a fourth man who holds the Crown of Thorns looks out as if to see what impression this distressing sight is making upon the spectators.

The figures are large for the early Flemish school, but although Quentin did not over-elaborate trifles he took all care in painting details. No such grouping had been achieved before in the school nor such a unity of composition, and the pose of the figures as well as the draping of their garments is a great advance on anything the earlier painters had done in the way of realism. If the skilful grouping of figures in this panel pleases the eye, it must be admitted that the overcrowding of those who, in the background, witness the martyrdom of St. John is disquieting, and faulty perspective has so confused the figures of men and animals that in times past the Antwerpers, so says Van Mander, used to wager on the number of horses represented.

Metsys, unlike Memling, was a man never satisfied with reproducing what he had already done well—he moved from phase to phase learning from every source within his reach. In this right wing we see him in the mood in which he painted the *Adoration of the Kings*, until recently in the Kann Collection, so that the men have coarse, brutal or foolish faces. True it is that the men in this picture are supposed to be heathen engaged in putting to death a holy man and that he has the face of a saint. The cauldron in which St. John suffers occupies the middle-distance in this crowded scene, while in the foreground two ruffians stoke the fire beneath it, the one biting his tongue, the other grinding his teeth in the exertion of heaving the fuel to the flames. Such figures as these two seem to foretell the popularity of scenes of men bending in toil, and a somewhat similar pair appear in the work of Geertgen Tot Sint Jans and of Dürer.

From this scene—which the painter may well have witnessed in Antwerp, for makers of false coins were thus disposed of—we pass to the left wing and find, as it were, a new Metsys. Here all sense of tragedy has left the principal persons seated in Herod's Palace. The royal group toy with the head of the Baptist as it is placed on the table by Salome, the musicians in the gallery chatter about the strange sight without a feeling of awe, and a page in the foreground holds a hound in leash, heedless of what is taking place. In fact it is as much a scene of contemporary life as that on the other wing; but in a palace of Italian style

peopled by Antwerpers in contemporary costume, save Herod's hat, which must have come to Antwerp with some travellers from the Orient.

In the meantime—besides the *Adoration of the Kings* once in the Kann Collection—Quentin had completed the *Legend of St. Anne* for the Fraternity of that Saint, to be placed in their chapel in St. Peter's at Louvain. This picture was finished in 1509 and is now in the Brussels Gallery. In the centre panel we see Joachim and Anne with the Virgin and Infant Christ, and the other members of the Holy Family. Metsys has taken an extremely low point of sight, and through a cupola above the group we can see the sky. This cupola and the triple baldachino are so Italian in character that it seems probable that the painter had crossed the Alps before this time, but what leads one even further towards this assumption are the two figures of Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome, who with their infant children occupy the foreground, so strongly do they resemble the ladies painted by the Florentine and Lombard Schools.[1] Joachim, Joseph, Alpheus, Zebedee are still of the type peculiar to the Northerners. The interiors of the wings are remarkable for the figure of the angel floating in the air above the head of Joachim as he crouches in surprise—here again Quentin is making an experiment and has only partly succeeded,—and for the dignified figure of the young Christ raising His hand in benediction as He stands by Anne's death-bed. But far superior to these last are the exteriors of the wings—the *Marriage of Joachim and Anne* and the *Refusal of Joachim's Offering*—for although the effect is again impaired by the introduction of too many heads in the background, yet the principal figures are so grand and impressive that they already foretell the historical canvases of the mature Antwerp School of the seventeenth century. Thus Quentin's chief works belong to the years immediately following his second marriage. At that time David at Bruges was occupied with the Paradise Picture now at Rouen, and—looking farther afield—Michelangelo was beginning work in the Sistine Chapel.

The work of Quentin's later years may be divided into pictures of the Virgin and Child, portraits of men, and burgher-pieces. He continued to paint woman—even when representing the Virgin—with all the charm nature has given her, and gave to the world the pictures of which those at Berlin and Amsterdam are perhaps the most beautiful. A number of pictures in the Galleries of Europe show that in the painting of sweet women Quentin had his imitators just as he had in rendering the better-known scenes in counting-houses, and perhaps this popularity induced David to paint the *Virgin feeding the Child with the Wooden Spoon*, a picture which he reproduced

[1] Fierens-Gevaert, "Les Primitifs Flamands."

several times and of which there is an example in the Brussels Gallery.

Several portraits of men are given to Metsys, including Peter Gilles (Ægidius) at Longford Castle, Erasmus in the Stroganoff Collection in Rome, Jean Carondelet in the old Pinakothek at Munich, an Ecclesiastic in the Liechtenstein Collection at Vienna.[1] This branch of the painters' art has been successfully practised in the Netherlands even when others have been at a low ebb, and Metsys contrived to expound the sitter's character in his face more clearly than had been done by earlier portraitists.

His name has been attached to a number of "burgher-pictures" or pictures of the daily life of ordinary people, of goldsmiths, of lawyers, of tax-gatherers, in their places of business, but none by his hand seem to be still in existence excepting the *Goldsmith and his Wife* in the Louvre (painted in 1514), though some with good reason assign to him the *Thief and the Old Man* in the Pourtalès Collection in Paris. This type of genre-picture was developed by him and became so popular that his works were copied and imitated in great numbers by his pupils and followers at Antwerp, and he may thus be considered to have led the way to the subjects of Teniers, Brouwer and the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century as he did by his *Entombment* and the outside wings of the *Legend of St. Anne* to subject-pictures of Rubens and Jordaens, and by his portraits to the masterpieces of Franz Hals. Genre-painting had, however, always been a characteristic of the Flemish School.

Metsys seems never to have been employed by the Court, as were painters of less note, but he was highly esteemed by his fellow-artists, as we learn from the diary Albert Dürer kept on his visit to Antwerp in 1520-21, and he was admitted to the friendship of Peter Gilles (Ægidius), the scholarly town-clerk of Antwerp, who introduced him to Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. He painted the portraits of Erasmus and Ægidius in a double picture for them to send into England as a present to More (1517).[2] His first residence in Antwerp seems to have been the house called the *Red Hat* in the Old Corn Market, near to the Pilgrim Inn kept by Jean Heyns, the father of his second wife; later he took up his abode in a house named the *Ape* in Tanners' Street, having purchased it in 1519, and it was here that he received a visit from Dürer in 1520. The house in which he spent the last years of his life was in the Street of the Crossbowmen's Garden, and he named it *Saint Quentin* after his patron-saint. He

[1] Some would give him the Man with Eye-glasses in the Städel Gallery at Frankfort and an Old Man in the André Collection in Paris.

[2] For Quentin Metsys see the works on painting in Antwerp already quoted and (1) van Even, "L'ancienne école de peinture de Louvain"; (2) Henri Hymans in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1888, V, 1 and V, 2; (3) Jean de Bosschere, "Quentin Metsys"; and (4) Fierens-Gevaert, "Les Primitifs Flamands."

died in 1530 and was buried in the churchyard of Our Lady at the foot of the great tower.[1]

Among the painters who came to Antwerp from Brussels at the end of the fifteenth century was a grandson of Roger van der Weyden of the name of Goossen. A *Life of St. Dympna* painted by him in 1505 for the Abbey of Tongerloo [2] is the earliest dated picture of the Antwerp School, and although it is in the main a painting by a man brought up in the traditions of Brussels it bears evidence of the influence of Metsys.[3]

A foreigner who was influenced by the same master to a much greater extent was Josse of Cleves, the Elder. No picture has been assigned to him with certainty, but he is now generally regarded as being the Master of the *Death of the Virgin*—that is to say the painter of pictures dealing with that subject now in the galleries at Cologne and Munich, painted in 1515 and 1516, and from this surmise a large group of pictures has been written down as his work. Of these some are very superior to others. The central panel of the Munich picture is well grouped, well drawn, and in fine colour. The picture at Cologne is a smaller and less important work. His religious pictures are to be found in many of the best galleries in Europe. The Louvre has an *Entombment* (a later work) with a predella of the *Last Supper*, showing unmistakably that he was familiar with Leonardo's treatment of the subject.

An interesting group of pictures by him shows the Virgin and Child with Joseph, examples of which are to be found in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, the National Gallery, the Academy at Vienna, and the Gallery of Lille. In these pictures there is nothing devotional, and Joseph has become an old man in a straw hat, who reads a document or fumbles with his eye-glasses and is rather casually introduced on the left of the picture.

In a Holy Family in the Brussels Gallery of a different type, the Infant is sitting on St. Anne's knee, but having become sleepy the Virgin takes Him from her. St. Anne is one of the few fine figures Josse ever painted, and sits like a queen upon her throne, but the Holy Parents are simply burghers highly amused by the drowsiness of the Child. This painter became free of the Guild in 1511 and was Dean in 1519 and in 1525. Although a good colourist he often chose inferior types.

Sometimes, as in the case of Joseph in the *Adoration of the Kings* at Berlin, a single figure in a group suffers by reason of his unskilful arrangement. Sometimes his figures are not sufficiently noble for the parts they are called on to play—for instance, Joseph in one of the Holy Families at Vienna, who looks more

[1] Thys.

[2] Lent by Messrs. Frederick Müller & Co., of Amsterdam, for exhibition at Ghent, 1913.

[3] "Jahrbuch der Königlich Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen," Band 34, Heft I.

like an old woman than a man. Yet this picture—which is quite one of his best—is a masterly work in colour and arrangement and he has inspired the figures with life.

Portraits by him are in the Uffizi (dated 1520), at Cassel (1525 and 1526) and at Vienna, and some would give him the *Man with the Eye-glasses* in the Städel Gallery. Many of his portraits would, no doubt, be found to be described as the work of, not only Quentin Metsys, but Holbein and de Bruyn. His known portraits are good. He, Metsys, or some Antwerp painter, produced several pictures of women such as the *Virgin and Child* in the Louvre, the *Virgin in Prayer* in the Cnerzin Collection at Vienna, and the *Portrait of a Woman* in the Liechtenstein Collection, and the various *Lucretias* at Vienna, Budapest, and elsewhere. These last seem hardly in keeping with what we know to be Quentin's taste and one may conjecture that he was loath to paint women undraped. In the picture in the Imperial Gallery, the Roman matron with gloved hands, admirably painted, drives the dagger into her naked breast while the clothing slips from her shoulders.

Carl van Mander says it was Joachim Patinir's habit to paint landscapes with much care and delicacy, and that he introduced pretty small figures, adding that he sold a large number of his works. He was born at Dinant on the Meuse and was admitted a free-master of the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp in 1515. He sometimes painted the landscapes in other men's pictures, and that he achieved fame is borne out by Dürer's references to him in his Diary. We know little of his life and only a few works are assigned to him. We may perhaps see his landscapes in many pictures, the chief groups in which are the work of other Antwerp artists, but he was not himself a good figure painter and made little of a subject-picture when left entirely to work alone, if one can judge fairly from the pictures attributed to him. This want of ability in him was the cause of his fame, for he devoted himself to landscape-painting, only peopling pictures with figures which were small. He was not a very much better landscape-painter than those who had worked before him, but he specialized in this branch of his art. In trying to paint his glimpses of country or town realistically he lost much of the charm of the backgrounds of Van Eyck, Roger van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle. The Flight to Egypt was a subject dear to the early experimenters in landscape-painting, and it was as if the Holy Family on becoming fugitives could be painted in any obscure corner of the scene if need be.

There is a picture of this subject by Patinir in the Antwerp Gallery (signed) and another in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. He favoured a blue-green light over the whole and the scenery is sometimes mountainous and sometimes flat, but usually jagged rocks occupy some portion of the scene. He was a clever sky-

CENTRAL PANEL OF THE LEGEND OF ST. ANNE

FROM THE PAINTING BY QUENTIN METSYS IN THE BRUSSELS MUSEUM

painter and in presenting trees excelled those who had gone before. It would not be very surprising to hear that he painted the landscapes in all Quentin's Calvary Scenes and in the *Legend of St. Anne*, and in several pictures by the Master of the *Death of the Virgin*. His best work—the *Baptism of Christ* in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna—was evidently suggested by David's treatment of the same subject at Bruges.[1] Patinir died in 1524, leaving Quentin Metsys guardian of his children. Van Mander tells of his having been a debauchee, but there is good reason to distrust his statements in this case.

Although Metsys must be considered the head of the early Antwerp School, and it was to him that most of his contemporaries looked for example, yet there is traceable in many pictures of the period a foreign element quite distinct from his style, coming, perhaps from Brussels, perhaps from Germany or Holland, which came to be named after the painter Bles.

The greatest and most famous picture in this style is the *Adoration of the Magi* by Jan Gossart de Mabuse in the National Gallery.[2] Gossart was born at Maubeuge in Hainaut, whence he got the name of Mabuse. He came to Antwerp and was admitted a free-master of the Guild of St. Luke in 1503, under the name of Jennyn van Henegouwe, and for the next five years made the town his residence. During this period he painted the picture referred to. The subject chosen by those of this style was usually the Adoration of the Magi, and the characteristic features are the effort to excel in the rendering of aerial and linear perspective, the architectural background (often ruinous), the oriental nature of the head-dresses worn, the gorgeousness of the embroideries and ornamentation of the garments, while with them appears an alteration in the grouping and pose of the figures and in the arrangement of drapery. Gossart in the National Gallery picture succeeded magnificently where most of his imitators failed, and the work is not only interesting as being in some sort a prototype, but is also one of the most beautiful produced by the whole Flemish School. A small frieze of putti is the only classical ornamentation introduced, and it remains a truly Flemish picture, but into the tradition of Van Eyck as carried on by Quentin has crept something that seems new in the grouping. In 1508 Gossart went to Italy in the train of Philip of Burgundy and returned in 1509, but it is uncertain whether he painted again in Antwerp before his death (1533–4).

His subject-pictures painted after his return from Italy show that his aims had been entirely altered by the study of classical monuments which he had made there. His two best-known

[1] A landscape in the Kaiser Frederick Museum at Berlin is attributed to him, also a very good landscape with St. Jerome in the foreground in the Rudolphinum at Prague and several pictures in the National Gallery. I have not seen a St. Jerome at Karlsruhe nor St. Anthony in the Prado.

[2] Until 1911 in the Carlisle Collection.

religious works of this period represent the same subject—St. Luke painting the Virgin—and although vastly different in arrangement, are alike in showing the new manner. In that at Prague the figures remain Flemish, but they sit in a hall built in Renaissance style, freely adorned with putti, garlands and bas-reliefs excellently painted. The tiled floor and the splendid rendering of perspective are all that remind us of the *Adoration of the Magi* painted in his earlier manner. The same subject in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna shows the same superb perspective and the same Italian architecture. A group of pictures of the Virgin and Child in public and private collections have been attributed to him and his imitators, some of which are very charming.

In the painting of portraits no line can be drawn at which one can say, "Here the Flemings became prejudiced by Italian influence!" What they learnt in Italy they could absorb and turn to good account in this branch of their art, even as early as the days of Gossart. The portraits of *Jean Carondelet* in the Louvre (1517), of *Charles V* at Budapest (usually given to Bernard van Orley), of the *Ecclesiastic painted as St. Donatian* at Tournai, of the *Knight of the Golden Fleece* at Brussels, of the *Man with the Hat with a Feather* in the Cardon Collection at Brussels (1534), of the *Children of Christian II of Denmark* at Hampton Court (1525), of the *Man with a Rosary* in the National Gallery, of *Isabella of Austria* in the Cardon Collection, of *Jacqueline of Bavaria* in the National Gallery, and others at Antwerp are enough to attest to his skill as a portrait painter. Many of his portraits are no doubt wrongly assigned to Bernard van Orley and vice versa.[1]

Guicciardini says Gossart was the first who brought from Italy to the Netherlands the art of painting histories and of painting nude figures from mythology, and it seems as if no nude figures had previously been painted except Adam and Eve and those in scenes such as the Last Judgment or Hell. He made a thorough study of the human form and chose accordingly the subjects for his pictures. We have his fine anatomical studies on the one hand in *Adam and Eve* at Hampton Court, at Brussels and elsewhere, and on the other his scenes from Greek mythology, notably *Neptune and Aphrodite* (1516) at Berlin, and *Danäe* (1527) at Munich.

The Berlin picture is remarkable for qualities apart from the study of the nude, namely, for the power he has shown of giving expression to the faces of the two divinities. True they are not Greek deities, but human beings. Aphrodite is confused by her shyness and is made mournful by Neptune's presence, while

[1] The translator of Guicciardini's volume in the eighteenth century, speaking of such errors, says, "Albert Dürer, Mabuse, etc., are lords of the manor; and to them all strays must belong."

he stares into her face to see her thoughts. Gossart's greatest work was probably the altarpiece painted for the Premonstratensian Monastery at Middleburg and destroyed by fire in 1568.

It is uncertain whether he died at Antwerp or whether he even passed any considerable portion of his time there after his return from Italy. For the most part he was in the service of princes and that too in Holland when it was that Scorel became his pupil; but he was really an Antwerp painter, having begun his career there, and he influenced many of the painters of the town until his death. The group of pictures which were called into being by Gossart's *Adoration of the Magi* in the National Gallery have, as has already been said, come to be attributed to Bles or the Pseudo-Bles, and it is really more convenient to speak of them among painters in the later styles, for it is preferable, so far as possible, to close the period more directly connected with Metsys at his death in 1530, when also fashions suffered change by the coming of a new Regent. The style now known as that of Bles, wherever it came from, had influenced Antwerp painters early in the century, but until about 1520 it was overwhelmed by the style of Metsys. After that the painters in the style of Bles had it much their own way, so far as historical pictures (other than genre) went, until such time as those who had acquired new knowledge beyond the Alps began to turn it to full account.

Two painters of note were made free of the Guild of St. Luke in 1493—Jan Provost and Jacob van Lathem, the latter becoming painter to the King of Castile—but neither of them seems to have done much work in Antwerp or to have greatly influenced the painting there. During the lifetime of Quentin the fame of Antwerp as an art-centre, together with the wealth she could spend with artists, tempted several famous foreign painters to visit the town.

Lucas Cranach came in 1509; Dürer in 1520; Hans Baldung Grien and Lucas van Leyden in 1521; and Holbein in 1526. What we know of their doings there is less informing as to the practice of art in the town than as showing the way painters lived and behaved in those days and the life of the town.[1] Dürer indeed did make portraits of several persons while in Antwerp, including Patinir (now in the Weimar Museum) and Lucas van Leyden (in the Gallery at Lille). The painters in the town were able to fulfil all demands made upon them for work of all kinds, but once a famous painter was called in from outside. In 1518 or 1519 the Almoners of the town ordered a picture from Bernard van Orley, who had just returned from Italy, and had established himself at Brussels, but it was not finished until 1524–5.[2] It was for their Chapel in the Church of Our Lady and is now in

[1] See page 133.
[2] "Catalogue of the Antwerp Gallery," No. 741, etc.

the Antwerp Gallery. The scene chosen for the central panel, the Last Judgment, has enabled the painter to fill the dome of Heaven with numbers of hovering angels and to people the earth with a vast crowd of nude figures, and all this he has done with consummate skill. Introduced into this scene is a group of Almoners performing one of the Works of Mercy—Burying the Dead—the other six being found on the wings.

Soon after this, the monks of St. Michael's commissioned him to paint a picture of their great founder, St. Norbert, disputing with Tanchelm, now in the Old Pinakothek at Munich.

At this period the painters were looked upon as the chief artists of the town, but it must be remembered that they formed only one of the several sections which composed the Guild of St. Luke. Another section—one which did excellent work—was that of the carvers in stone and in wood. Of the carvers in stone, those most directly connected with the adornment of buildings belonged to the Guild of the Four Crowned Saints. The history of Antwerp sculpture really begins with the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[1] The great part of the productions of that time consisted of altarpieces or figures of wood, polychromed and gilded, and these from their very nature perished in scores at the hands of the iconoclasts in the second half of the sixteenth century.

It is possible that the bronze monument for the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon was made by an Antwerp artist. This lady was the wife of Charles the Bold and she died in 1465, while staying at the Abbey of St. Michael. She was buried in the choir of the church and some years afterwards her daughter, Mary of Burgundy, erected this remarkable monument over her grave, but it has now been placed behind the high altar in the Church of Our Lady. The sculptor would have been a member of the Guild of Smiths—as were all the workers in metal—and not of that of St. Luke. This monument is a great work of art but is very simple in character. The sculptor has surmounted the difficult task of arranging the mountain of drapery in a masterly manner. The clothing worn by women at the time made it most difficult to make a recumbent figure look otherwise than ridiculous, and here he has shown his great skill.

By far the most important part of the sculptor's work at Antwerp consisted in those altarpieces carved in bas-relief which are to be found in various churches and museums. Their production for exportation amounted to an industry. They had become popular when paintings were harder to come by than in the days of Metsys and they were used to instruct the illiterate as well as to furnish and beautify the altars. This manufacture

[1] For Antwerp sculpture see Jean de Bosschere, "La Sculpture Anversoise"; Joseph Destrée in "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles"; and in "Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France."

went on in the town until the end of the seventeenth century, although the trade had been damaged by the Reformation and the public taste had long declared itself in favour of altarpieces of painters' work. Usually they set forth a story in several compartments—the *Passion*, or the *Life of the Virgin*—and were always polychromed or gilded. So important had this industry become that in 1470 and in 1472 regulations were drawn up by the Guild of St. Luke requiring that each altarpiece on its completion should be examined by a jury named by the Deans of the Guild and, if it passed the test as to the goodness of the workmanship and the quality of the materials, should be stamped with the "Hand" or the "Castle" suggested by the arms of the town.

The altarpieces made at Antwerp differ little from those made at Brussels or other Netherland towns and can hardly be distinguished unless marked. So strict was the apprenticeship that one carver followed another closely until individuality in style disappeared. One man made the framework, another carved the canopies of the background, another the figures, and another did the colouring. A remarkable specimen of these Antwerp productions is to be found in the Church of Our Lady at Lübeck, the carving of it being excellent. In no part of it is there the overcrowding or squeezing-in of figures often found in inferior work of the kind.

An altarpiece in the Cluny dating from the end of the fifteenth century and showing the Life of Christ, including the Crucifixion, is rather uncouth, but presents surprising animation of the figures and skilful grouping. Sense of movement, indeed, seems to have been characteristic of the Antwerp workers as distinguished from those of other Netherland towns. If the anatomy of the figures in some of these pieces seems faulty it must be remembered that they were made to furnish altars lit by candles and were intended to be seen from some particular point rather than to be set in a row in a museum in clear daylight.

The "Oplinter" altarpiece in the Musée Cinquantenaire at Brussels shows that by the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century the industry had declined artistically. Owing to the roughness of the carving it could not have had more than a furnishing effect. It is a *Life of Christ* in ten scenes, polychromed and gilded. Perhaps one is tempted to demand too high an artistic finish in these curious and interesting pieces of church furniture—certainly Antwerp was famous for them. A few single figures and groups in the Museum may be Antwerp work of the end of the fifteenth century and of the years of the sixteenth which preceded the invasion of the style of the Renaissance, but other specimens of it are not common. Fire and iconoclasm have accounted for most of such pieces. No doubt much good Antwerp carving is concealed under the descriptions "Netherland-,"

"Flemish-," "Brabant-," or even "German-School." Of the Antwerp School might be a beautiful *Virgin and Child* in the Cluny.

In a cabinet in the Kaiser Frederick Museum at Berlin are several groups and figures attributed to the Antwerp School of the early sixteenth century, some of which show how the tendency to substitute genre for religious subjects was developing. The masterpiece of the cabinet is a group of blind men (about 1500) and other charming groups are a *Presentation in the Temple* and a *Circumcision* both dating from about 1510. Apart from its interest as being attributed to Quentin Metsys, the Well Cover in the Glove Market is remarkable for its graceful festoon-work and because it is the only work of its kind in Antwerp.

Naturally most of the old coloured glass has vanished from the churches along with the wooden figures. When the present Church of Our Lady was built some of the glass from the old one was moved into it. The glass-painters formed an important division of the Guild of St. Luke.[1]

The first important work of this period which must be referred to is a window executed at the command of the Spanish "Nation" in 1481–2 for the Chapel of Our Lady in the Great Church, but this was not the work of an Antwerper but of Nicolas Rombouts and Henry van Diependale of Louvain. The subject of this was *St. James in Combat with the Saracens*, and it remained in the church until the seventeenth century. There is still in the church a beautiful window by this same Nicolas Rombouts given by Engelbert II, Count of Nassau, in 1503. In the seventeenth century, however, the chief portion of it—*The Last Supper*—was renewed and little of it now represents the work of Nicolas Rombouts. We have names of artists working in Antwerp during these years and records of payments for work done, but the windows have long since disappeared.

Fortunately in the Church of Our Lady still remain two beautiful windows (much restored) erected in 1503, to commemorate the Treaty of Commerce between Henry VII and Philip the Fair. They light the large chapel on the north of the ambulatory. One of these shows Philip and Joanna kneeling and supported by their patron saints. This window has been reconstructed. The other shows Henry and his Queen, supported in the same way by their patron saints. We do not know who is responsible for these two windows, but he is supposed to have been the same as he who made the windows in the Chapel of Burgundy. Guicciardini speaks of this art as having been perfected by the Netherlanders, and certainly many of the great masters in it lived at Antwerp.

The reigns of Maximilian and Philip saw a great decline in the art of the book writers and illuminators in face of the printers, but

[1] Clément van Cauwenbergh, "Notice historique sur les Peintres-Verriers d'Anvers du XV^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle."

their loss was the engravers' gain, for the printing press popularized their productions. In a chapter which has already described the painters at too great a length any description of the minor members of the Guild would become tedious. To give an idea of the condition and aims of its members during the period is all that is desired, indeed to carry it farther and to give a detailed account of objects of art produced by them would demand a lifetime's study if adequate justice was to be done to goldsmith, silversmith and embroiderer. Under no circumstances, however, would it be possible to omit a short account of the printers' work, even if it were not one of the most honourable pages of the town's history.[1]

The first book printed in Antwerp by means of movable type seems to have been "Het Boeck van Tondalus Vysioen," which came in 1482 from the press of Mathias van der Goes. This printer was not received free-master of the Guild until 1487, so perhaps it was not at first necessary for practitioners in the new art to become members of it. He continued printing until his death in 1491, and then his widow married Godfrey Back, who carried on the business which had been established at the corner of Stonecutters' Rampart and Brewers' Street, a neighbourhood favoured by printers. Van der Goes' mark was a giant supporting a shield with a lion rampant, and flourishing a club above his head. Sometimes he used the arms of the Empire and of the town. Most of his productions were books of a religious nature. He seems not to have made his own type, but to have acquired that made and previously used by other printers.

Godfrey Back was received free-master of the Guild in 1493—the year after his marriage—and between that year and 1500 he published not less than one hundred and sixty works. The name of his house in Brewers' Street was the *Bird Cage* (Vogel-Huis), and so he took a bird-cage for his trade-mark, adding sometimes the arms of the town. He was quite one of the most active and famous of the Antwerp printers.

There was plenty of money to be made in Antwerp and it was easy to get workmen there, and so in 1484 Gerard Leeu, who had for some time been printing in his native town of Gouda, established what became the chief branch of his business at Antwerp. He set up in a house named *St. Mark*, next to the Pand of Our Lady, and in 1485 became free-master of the Guild. He worked at Antwerp until killed in a quarrel by one of his workmen (1493), turning out editions in Latin, English, French, and Flemish. He printed several old chronicles and romances of chivalry and was fond of adorning his works with woodcuts. He was the best typographer of his day, and his work outshone

[1] Frans Olthoff, "De Boek drukkers, etc., in Antwerpen"; *Le bibliophile Belge*, various articles; Holtrop, "Monuments Typographiques des Pays-Bas"; Lambinet, "Origine de l'Imprimerie"; Martin Conway, "The Wood-cutters of the Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century."

that of his Antwerp rivals. He printed fifty-six editions at Antwerp between September 1484 and the end of 1497. Like several others he took the arms of the town for his mark (the Castle with the Hands), but he sometimes used a lion of Byzantine appearance supporting a shield bearing his own arms.

We do not know what relation to him was Nicolas Leeu, who worked in 1487 and 1488, using the same plant. The scholarly printer Thierry Martens was a friend of Erasmus. He settled in Antwerp and printed his first book there in 1493, having acquired some of Gerard Leeu's materials, including his device of the Antwerp Castle. He had previously worked at Alost and at Louvain, sometimes in partnership with John of Westphalia. He worked at Antwerp until 1497, when he returned to Louvain, but he came back again in 1502, being tempted back to the University city in 1512. Shortly before his death—which occurred in 1534—he retired into a monastery at Alost. He possessed knowledge of Greek and Latin authors and printed their works, as well as religious books, and above all the writings of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. The chief part of his work was done between 1500 and 1539 and then at either Antwerp or Louvain he produced some eighty-five editions.

Among these early pioneers of printing should be mentioned Adrian van Liesvelt, who worked during the last decade of the fifteenth century. Roland van den Dorp, who printed a few books only, is chiefly remembered by his device—suggested by his name—the Knight Roland blowing his horn. His career was cut short by death, and his widow continued the business. Henricus die Lettersnider (the letter-cutter) of Rotterdam, Michael of Hoogstraeten, Henry of Homborch are names we know, but several books were printed without the name of the printer. Nicolas de Grave in 1516 issued the first Flemish Bible printed in Antwerp and followed it with another in 1518.

When speaking of the members of the Guild of St. Luke it is desirable, as far as it is possible, to divide the work of those who flourished under the late Gothic style from that of those who were imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance. It is difficult to draw a dividing line with any precision as both styles affected many artists at different periods of their careers. The spirit of the Renaissance had become apparent in Antwerp in a small degree during the last ten years of the fifteenth century, and yet it seems most natural to make a group of those who worked until about the time of the death of Quentin Metsys (1530) and another group of those later painters who were more under the Italian influences than were Josse of Cleves or Patinir. Yet this division is unsatisfactory, for most of Gossart's work points to his belonging to the latter group while his date places him in the former.

CHAPTER VI

THE TWO REGENCIES OF MARGARET OF AUSTRIA

IT was through the persuasion of the deputies of Brabant, Holland, Zeland and Friesland that at the death of Philip the Fair the Regency of the Burgundian possessions was offered to Maximilian. He immediately appointed his daughter, Margaret of Austria, Vice-Regent, and gave her charge of the Archduke Charles. Ferdinand became Regent of Castile. Charles was at this time only six years old and any government by his mother was rendered impossible by her insanity. Margaret had reached the age of twenty-seven. We saw her carried to France under the terms of the Treaty of Arras to be, in time, the wife of the Dauphin—a plan made by the Flemings to preserve themselves from attack by the French, much to the humiliation and distress of Maximilian. It became, however, more convenient to the Dauphin, become Charles VIII, King of France, to marry Anne of Brittany, and poor Margaret was ignominiously packed off home again to be ever hostile to the royal house which had treated her with such lack of courtesy. We have also seen that hers was one of the Spanish marriages planned to bind Spain and the Netherlands together, and that she went on a perilous voyage only to lose her husband after six months of married life.

After this marriage of convenience she returned to the Netherlands and in due time married Philibert of Savoy, whom she loved dearly; but fortune played the jade with her once more and death again robbed her of her husband. After that she remained a widow, one of the great ladies of the Renaissance, a great administrator, a poetess, a prose-writer and a lover of art. Her policy throughout both periods of her Regency was to rule the Netherlands for the benefit of the Habsburgs and her enthusiasm for her family's greatness was fanned by her hatred of the French Kings. On the 21st of June, 1507, Margaret came to Antwerp, and on the 24th was received as Vice-Regent of the Margraviate of the Holy Roman Empire. One of her first cares was to enter into a treaty with England which put commercial relations between the two countries on a basis more satisfactory to the Netherlanders than they would have been if the Intercursus Malus had been allowed to stand; but soon the chief anxiety of her reign presented itself, namely, the war with Guelders. In the

autumn Charles of Egmont took up arms, receiving assistance from Louis XII, King of France, and Robert de la Marck. Margaret had already taken steps necessary for putting the Netherlands in a state of defence, and had called on all men between the ages of eighteen and sixty to hold themselves in readiness.

After her visit to Antwerp in the summer she had retired to Mechlin, where she had determined to hold court for Charles and herself; however, in the autumn plague drove both of them back to Antwerp, and there they resided for many months. Charles of Egmont (of Guelders as he called himself) and Robert de la Marck joined hands, and passing through the Campine and Hesbaye pillaged Turnhout and several other places, ultimately sacking Tirlemont in September.

A very close watch was now being kept on the town-walls of Antwerp by night and day, and those who had no duty to perform there were forbidden to approach. No one was allowed to go about the streets without a light after dark (an order often given in Paris and introduced into the Netherlands by the Dukes of Burgundy), and only poorters or chosen men were allowed to serve in the watch. Also everyone, excepting the foreign merchants and their factors, was ordered to take oath to the town, while innkeepers were commanded to bring such strangers as came to lodge with them before the Magistrates. At the same time good pay was promised to such as were willing to serve against the enemy on horseback and they were told to communicate with the Knight, Conrad Pot.

The troops sent by the French King into Luxemburg were routed near St. Hubert, but Holland was laid waste up to the walls of Amsterdam by Charles of Egmont. The only important success on the side of Burgundy was the capture by the Hollanders of the Castle of Poederoyen, on the borders of Brabant and Holland, from which the men of Guelders had been able to ravage both of these provinces.[1] Throughout the campaign Margaret was hampered by want of money, for only Brabant and Namur would grant adequate subsidies. In the summer of 1508 the country seemed on the verge of a revolution and in Antwerp there was great misery. The number of pauper sick was increasing so rapidly that the great hospital of St. Elizabeth became in need of funds.

Margaret brought Charles back to Antwerp in September (1508) and Maximilian joined them there, having come from Germany to obtain the country's recognition of his Regency. This ceremony was performed on the 18th of September on a platform set up before the Town House, in the presence of the Papal Legate and the Margrave of Brandenburg, in addition to the Royal party. With the treasury empty and discontent rife among the people, it seemed impossible to maintain the war

[1] T. Juste, "Charles V et Marguerite d'Autriche," p. 37.

against Guelders. Also Maximilian's head was at the moment full of his plans for a league against Venice, and so in October a truce was agreed to.

Early in November Margaret set out for Cambrai with the object of discussing terms of peace between the Netherlands, France, and Guelders, and of forming the league. The portion of the treaty which concerned the Netherlands most was that which was designed to detach French help from Guelders. The League of Cambrai was signed on the 10th of December, 1508, and it seemed to promise relief from all fear of attack from Charles of Egmont and Robert de la Marck, for it stipulated that the claims of the former should be referred to arbitration and that Louis should render him no assistance if he failed to respect the award. In the meantime both the Duchy of Guelders and the County of Zutphen were to remain in the hands of Charles of Egmont.[1] The peace thus promised greatly increased Margaret's popularity in the Netherlands.

The year 1509 seemed to start propitiously for the people of Antwerp, for another alliance had been formed which was entirely to their taste. This was the betrothal of the Archduke Charles and Mary Tudor, which on the 9th of January was celebrated in Antwerp with banquet, procession, and bonfire. Such an engagement, however, could not endure, for it would create hostility at the French Court, nor did the Treaty of Cambrai prove so good a security against war as had been hoped. Some attack was still feared from France, Guelders, or Liége while the country was pillaged by bands of unpaid soldiers, and the seas were swept by pirates whom the Government was too feeble to suppress.

In the spring (1509) great preparations were made by Maximilian throughout his dominions for his campaign against the Venetians. In his plans Antwerp played a part, and we find him making inquiries as to how many ships lay there of the kind engaged in the spice trade with the South ; for he reckoned they would be suitable for war. When all was ready he left Antwerp (20th of March, 1509), accompanied by many who were to serve in the campaign, leaving Margaret and Charles in the town. These two soon returned to Mechlin but frequently visited Antwerp. At the end of March the States-General assembled at Antwerp to consider the request of Maximilian for an Aid in return for what he had done for the defence of the country,[2] and a sum for Margaret for the trouble she had taken in bringing about the Peace. The States of Brabant, Hainaut, Holland, Zeland, Namur, Lille, and Valenciennes granted a substantial Aid.

No doubt it seemed as if the overthrow of Venice would

[1] Henne, " Histoire du Règne de Charles Quint en Belgique," I.

[2] Probably Maximilian had brought soldiers with him when he came from Germany to be used in the Guelders War.

benefit the commerce of Antwerp, and (27th of June, 1509) the inhabitants held a procession giving thanks for the news of the crushing defeat of the Venetian Republic at Agnadello. Venice, however, had recovered her position by the end of the year, and Maximilian's empty pocket compelled him to make, through Margaret, many demands for money from the Netherland Provinces for his Italian wars, which were not readily answered. When the League of Cambrai fell to pieces and the Pope planned to drive the French out of Italy, it became inevitable that Louis XII would set Charles of Egmont on against the Netherlands, unless he could get Maximilian's help in Italy.

In the autumn of 1510 it was apparent there would soon be a fresh war with Guelders and popular fury rose to a great height, many complaining that it was the Emperor's interest which thus plunged the country into wars in which it had no interest, and others that the hostile attitude adopted towards France was due to Margaret's policy. When, in September 1510, Margaret visited Antwerp, the walls of the town were covered with placards attacking and ridiculing certain councillors to whom blame was assigned. The perpetrators of this insult were never discovered in spite of the reward offered, and many thought it was the work of some great lords of the Court—indeed it was said that three of them had been seen putting up such placards by the light of a torch.[1] By the end of December negotiations with Charles of Egmont, which had been in progress at Liége, were broken off, and Margaret prepared for a renewal of war, which must needs be faced with a depleted treasury.

In the early spring of 1511 war with Guelders broke out. In the event this war turned out to be rather a raid or harrying exploit by the men of Guelders, but it was sufficiently annoying to the peace-loving inhabitants of Antwerp. We find that in April merchants on their way to Frankfort were captured by Guelders horsemen and held to ransom, and little less damage was done by Margaret's unpaid mercenaries who pillaged all the country round Turnhout, much to the distress of Antwerp and Bois-le-Duc. Margaret had collected an army of some 1,500 horse and 6,000 foot, and she went to Antwerp to encourage the operations by her presence. On the 16th of August, 1511, a procession and solemn festival of three days' duration was ordered at Antwerp to pray for the success of the contingent which had gone across the Meuse. It was ordered that at least one person from each house should take part in the procession and that all shops should be closed. In the succeeding weeks the Magistrates published various ordinances calculated to ensure the safety of the town and to suppress all excessive gaiety at so critical a time.

The chief fear was that help might be sent to the men of Guelders by Louis XII or Robert de la Marck. Siege was

[1] Henne, I.

laid to Venloo, for its fall would cut Guelders off from Liége, Sedan, and France, and would give a free passage between the Netherlands and Germany. The Aids granted by the States were not enough, however, to enable Margaret to carry on the war with success, and she was compelled to borrow money in Antwerp. She had learnt by experience that when the pay of the mercenaries fell into arrears they left the frontier, which it was their duty to defend, and quartered themselves on the inhabitants, and that it was only then that the towns could be persuaded to produce money generously for their pay. The siege of Venloo had to be given up, and, thus encouraged, the men of Guelders raided Brabant unmercifully.[1]

The States of Antwerp, Bois-le-Duc and a few other towns were willing to grant Aids, but in general Margaret's demands were met by a refusal, with the result that by April 1512 she realized that the country's dislike for the war was so great that it would be difficult to bring it to a successful conclusion. There were murmurings among the people, and fearing some commotion she urged Maximilian to hasten to the Netherlands. The aspect of affairs so far as they concerned Antwerp was made even more dispiriting by the appearance of plague in 1511, which came again year after year with rather unusual severity. Maximilian was, however, too depoverished by his wars in Italy to pay for his journey across Europe. It was with the greatest satisfaction that the Netherlanders heard that on the 31st of July, 1513, a truce for four years had been made with Guelders.

When Henry VIII invaded France in 1513, Maximilian (as Emperor), the Pope and the King of Aragon were in league with him, and although the neutrality of Charles's dominions was accepted by the Allies, much Antwerp shipping was sharked up by the French at sea. The news of Henry's victory at Guinegate caused great rejoicing at Antwerp. In the beginning of this year and in the summer Henry's emissaries had been collecting ships at Antwerp and buying gunpowder and other munitions of war; and in May six French men-of-war lay off the coast between Nieuport and Sluis to waylay Henry's artillery on its way from Antwerp to Calais.[2] Tournai capitulated to Henry and Maximilian on the 19th of September, and we are told that many of the inhabitants went to live at Antwerp.

The new year was ushered in by a terrible visitation of pestilence and by a severe winter—indeed, Charles's minority closed amid scenes of distress. The alliance between the Emperor and Henry against France inclined the French King to give fresh support to Charles of Egmont, although no serious breach of the truce was committed, and so it was greatly to the advantage of the Netherlands when in August 1514 Henry made a Peace with Louis to which Maximilian was admitted. It was desirable to

[1] Henne, I. [2] Brewer, I, No. 4081.

remove any chance of war, for the dissatisfaction was becoming great, as can be seen from an ordinance published by the Magistrates of Antwerp (14th of October, 1514) forbidding the making and singing of songs ridiculing kings, princes, and other great persons.[1] By this Peace Henry betrothed Mary Tudor to Louis, although she was already promised to Charles.

A policy of peace with France was that favoured by the Councillor William of Croy, Seigneur de Chièvres, but quite contrary to that of Margaret of Austria. During the last years of the minority it was foreseen that when Charles was emancipated Chièvres would have his ear and that Margaret would be put on one side. It was thought that this would lead to a reversal of foreign policy and that the Netherland Government would drop the Habsburg schemes and seek closer relations with France. It was felt in the Netherlands that the sooner Charles was declared of age, and Chièvres established in power, the better it would be for the country.

Charles was declared of age at the beginning of 1515 and was inaugurated as the Duke of Brabant at Louvain on the 24th of January. On the 3rd of February the Magistrates of Antwerp promised safe-conducts to all who visited the town for the purpose of seeing the Joyous Entry. After spending the night of the 7th of February at Berchem, Charles entered Antwerp on the Sunday after Candlemas. He came with Margaret of Austria and his two sisters Eleanor and Mary, and was met at about one o'clock by the Schout, Burgomasters, Magistrates, Clergy, Military Guilds and Trade Guilds at the barrier set up in a field near Berchem by the Lepers' Hospital. After being presented by the chief Burgomaster with the keys of the town, Charles dismounted and was led to the platform which had been erected and there took the oath. A procession was then formed and he proceeded to the town by St. George's Gate. He repaired to the Church to Our Lady and thence to the Town House, where wine-of-honour was presented to him.[2] He took oath as Duke of Brabant and as Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire on the 11th of the month and remained in the town until the 22nd, giving banquets on the 19th and 20th to Margaret of Austria, the Ambassador of Aragon and other guests.

Charles was at this time just fifteen years old, but, being declared of age, he succeeded to the Duchies of Brabant, including the Margraviate of the Holy Roman Empire, Limburg and Luxemburg, the counties of Flanders, Artois, Hainaut, Holland, Zeland, Namur and Zutphen, and the lordships of Friesland and Mechlin. Later he was to inherit Austria, Spain, Naples, Sicily, and the Spanish possessions in the New World. He was enthusiastically received by the people of Antwerp, who hoped to see an end of war and that he would set himself to put

[1] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I. [2] Génard, I.

the finances of the country in order. It soon became apparent that the rule of Margaret of Austria was over for a time, and that Chièvres was to be allowed to pursue his policy of peace with France. Nothing could have been more agreeable to the Antwerpers—provided such peace brought no quarrel with England—for without French help Guelders was little to be feared. Also Charles's subjects now felt that the country would no longer be dragged into wars by Maximilian, or called upon to sustain him with money in his enterprises.

On New Year's Day Louis XII had expired, and he was succeeded by Francis I. Charles lost no time in entering into the Treaty of Paris (24th of March) with Francis and in renewing the unexpired truce with Charles of Egmont, which was duly celebrated at Antwerp on the 15th of April. There was indeed peace in the Netherlands until 1521—in which year the long wars between Charles and Francis began—but there was some disturbance on the frontier with the men of Guelders in the summer of 1516. Various disputes which had arisen between the Netherlands and England were discussed by Commissioners who met at Bruges in May 1515, and after several months they agreed to a Convention (24th of January, 1516), followed later (19th of April, 1516) by a treaty which set all such disputes at rest.

The joy felt in Antwerp at this change in the aspect of affairs was perhaps chilled by the plague which returned at that time. The town had not been free from it for several years, but in the spring of 1515 it was late in making its appearance. In May, however, it appeared in the villages round Antwerp, and the Magistrates ordered that all known precautions should be taken and public supplication made to God. However none of these things availed, and its appearance in the town was answered by an Ordinance of the Magistrates commanding that a white rod and a wisp of straw should be put outside each house in which any infected person lay. There was plague in London in this year, and no doubt the coming and going of merchants between the two towns was often the means of conveying infection. Some kind of infectious sickness appeared in the one town or the other in most years in a more or less severe form. The plague did not prevent Charles visiting the town a second time in 1515, namely on the 20th of July, on his way from Hoogstraeten to Mechlin, after completing his inaugural tour of the Provinces.

Since the death of Philip the Fair the Antwerp Societies had rarely attended either Shooting-festivals or Landjewels; perhaps the raids from Guelders had something to do with this. In 1510—when there was a lull in these hostilities—a Shooting-Festival was held at Namur, and in the same year the "Violet" and the "Marigold" distinguished themselves at a Rhetoric-Contest at Herenthals. It was about that time that a society of young men who called themselves the "Unvalued" (Ongeach-

ten) founded a third Chamber of Rhetoric, which they named the "Olive-branch" (Olyftak) and took a dove bearing an olive-branch for their device, with the motto "Ecce gratia." It was appropriate that in the year of Charles's coming-of-age a Landjewel should be held at Mechlin, the town in which he held his Court. All three of the Antwerp Chambers set out on St. Mary Magdalene's Day (22nd of July), accompanied by eight Knights of the Fleece and several of the Magistrates and other distinguished onlookers; and the "Violet" won the first prize for the most splendid entry, numbering quite 600 men, all dressed alike, some on horseback, some in carriages and some on foot.

On the 23rd of January, 1516, Ferdinand of Aragon died and it became necessary for Charles to go to Spain to look after the kingdoms he had inherited. The months before his departure were spent in setting all in order in the Netherlands, and his negotiations with the rulers of the neighbouring countries were watched with the greatest interest by the people of Antwerp. The agreement entered into with England in the spring of 1516 made peace more assured. On the day before that on which the Treaty of Noyon was made between Charles and Francis there was special intercession in Antwerp that something to Charles's advantage might be concluded in both France and Guelders. The Treaty of Noyon secured the country against attack by France, and Charles of Egmont, thus deprived of French help, could no longer seriously threaten any of the larger towns of Brabant. Such a departure from the old policy of hostility to France was ill-pleasing to Maximilian and he lost no time in hastening to the Netherlands—his journey paid for with English gold, for Henry VIII wished him well in his effort to keep Charles and Francis from becoming friends. On his arrival, however, he found Chièvres too powerful for him and he saw it was best for him to become a party to the treaty.

A later alliance (1518) between Maximilian, Charles and the Bishop of Liége made the Netherlands even more secure. In May orders had been given that preparations should be made for the holding of a Chapter of the Golden Fleece at Antwerp before Charles started for Spain, and the shields-of-arms of the Knights were actually hung up in the Great Church; but when the time approached, the plague made it dangerous for such august persons to stay in the town, and the shields were taken down and sent to Brussels.

Charles sailed from Flushing on the 8th of September, 1517. A few weeks after his departure the agitation of Luther came into full prominence, and by the time Charles again rode through the streets his doctrines had taken firm root in Antwerp. The three years during which Charles was absent from the Netherlands were very important in the history of Antwerp, but the beginning of the religious troubles must be dealt with separately. Were

it not for the spread of unorthodox views these might be regarded as peaceful years.

In 1518 Charles reappointed Margaret of Austria to the Regency. As in the case of several ladies of the Renaissance, this royal lady's fame as a ruler was enhanced by the interest she displayed in literature and art, but she seems not to have bestowed her favour on the sons of Antwerp, or on those who from time to time sojourned in the town, with as lavish a hand as she did on those whom she attracted to Mechlin and Brussels. She seems never to have patronized Quentin Metsys or Josse of Cleves, or to have appreciated the erudition of Ægidius or Graphæus. Erasmus found little favour in her sight and Dürer was disappointed with the reception she gave him.

We have spoken of the Commissioners who were sent by Henry VIII to Bruges in May 1515 to settle certain disputes which had arisen. They were led by Cuthbert Tunstall, and Thomas More was one of them. The deliberations at Bruges extended over many months, but the treaties which were the result were signed in the beginning of the following year. Tunstall and More before returning to England proceeded to Antwerp. During his stay in the Netherlands More was planning the second portion of "Utopia"—which he wrote before the first—and it was at Antwerp that he laid the scene of his meeting with the Portuguese mariner, who furnished him with the description of the imaginary island. He recounts that on a certain day he was leaving the Church of Our Lady after divine service and was turning to go to his lodging when he saw Ægidius, the Secretary to the Magistrates, talking to an old man with a black sun-burnt face and a long beard, whose appearance showed him to be a mariner. Ægidius introduced this man to More as Raphael Hythloday, who had sailed to the New World with Amerigo Vespucci and after many wanderings had come back to Europe with the news from Utopia. Such a man could soon awaken interest in More, who took both him and Ægidius to his lodging; and there upon a bench in the garden they sat and talked and Hythloday told his tale.

More returned to England in October 1515. When at home in England he wrote to Erasmus that the embassy to the Netherlands had been successful but tedious, for he had been away for six months, and that in all his journey he met with nothing he liked better than the society of Ægidius and he had fallen so in love with him for his learning, wit, modesty, and true friendship that he would willingly part with a good share of his fortune to purchase his company.[1]

Ægidius (the name being the latinized form of Gilles) was about thirty at this time and was of Antwerp origin. He was a remarkable scholar for his times and station, having acquired

[1] "Epistles of Erasmus," Nichols's translation, II, p. 261.

both Greek and Latin. He had become Chief Secretary to the Magistrates in 1510, that being a legal appointment. He published the "Letters of Politian" in 1510 at the press of Thierry Martens, and in the following year "Rodolphi Agricolæ Phrysii, viri utriusque literaturæ peritissimi nonnulla opuscula hac sequuntur serie," which was a translation of certain treatises of Plato and Isocrates, together with a collection of discourses and letters of his own. Also he edited and Martens printed at Louvain several works and collections of works by Erasmus in Latin. In September 1516 More commissioned Ægidius to publish "Utopia," which duly appeared at Louvain in 1517, dedicated by More to Ægidius. In 1519 Ægidius published an account of the funeral celebrations of Maximilian held at Antwerp as well as of the reception of Charles in the same year. But his great work—one which places him in high rank among contemporary lawyers—was his "Summary of Roman Law," published also by Martens at Louvain. He died in 1533.[1]

Erasmus had known Ægidius for some time before 1514, for in July of that year he wrote to him from London that he was dispatching "one square wooden box tied with cord, and three French trunks covered with leather" for Ægidius to take care of, for soon he would follow them to Antwerp.

During the next seven years Erasmus frequently visited Antwerp, usually staying with Ægidius, and having letters addressed to his house when he moved away. Erasmus was in Antwerp when More sent the manuscript of "Utopia" to Ægidius, and had the satisfaction of writing to the author (with whom he had become close friends while in England) that one of the Magistrates of Antwerp was so pleased with the work that he had learnt it by heart.

In 1517 Erasmus and Ægidius decided to send the present to More which was perhaps the one most likely to give their good friend pleasure. They commissioned Quentin Metsys to paint their portraits so that they could be framed together. Unfortunately Quentin's work was delayed by the illness of Ægidius, which was perhaps caused by the cold winds which killed many in May of that year. Erasmus would have continued to give Quentin sittings but, as he writes, "somehow or other it occurred to my doctor to order me some pills for the purging of bile, and what he was fool enough to prescribe I was idiot enough to take. The portrait was already begun, but when I returned to the painter after taking the physic, he said it was not the same face; so the painting has been put off for some days till I can look more cheerful."[2] More looked forward "greedily" to receiving the present.

[1] See Pierre Ægidius by Britz, in "Messager des sciences historiques," Ghent, 1864.

[2] "Epistles of Erasmus," translated by Nichols, II.

The pictures were finished in the early autumn of 1517 and dispatched to More at Calais in October. Ægidius was depicted holding a letter addressed to him in the handwriting of More and Erasmus at work on his paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans. More was delighted with Quentin's work. The portrait of Ægidius is now at Longford Castle and that of Erasmus in the Stroganoff Collection at Rome. There are copies of the latter at Hampton Court and at Amsterdam.[1] Readers of Erasmus's "Epithalamium of Petrus Ægidius" will remember that the Muses say to Alipius: "We believe you must needs know that most courteous and accomplish'd youth in all Kinds of polite Learning, Petrus Ægidius"; to which Alipius answers: "You have named an Angel, not a Man." Indeed the Muses are on their way to Ægidius's wedding "with the pretty maid Cornelia."[2] When Ægidius's daughter was born Tunstall undertook to be her godfather.

Another remarkable scholar of the town was Cornelius Graphæus or de Schryver, who later became Secretary to the Magistrates and was one of Luther's first disciples in the Netherlands. He possessed the arts of poetry, music, drawing, and painting, could speak Greek and Latin, and had the distinction of having travelled as far as Italy.

Erasmus's writings were little read by the common people of Antwerp, even when he made his most skilful tilts at the failings of the monks and clergy, but he was much appreciated by the scholars of the town, and the Brabant printers issued several editions of his works. Thierry Martens in 1502 and 1503 had published treatises by him, and in 1504 his Panegyric on Archduke Philip, also his famous "Encomium Moriæ" in 1512—all at his Antwerp press. Martens was indeed of great service to this friendly band of scholars. The presence of such men as these in the town stimulated the better-to-do class of citizens to study the dead languages, and gradually, with the aid of the printing press, the mental regeneration spread to the more ordinary classes. Antwerp had a public library by the end of the fifteenth century, kept in the Town House, which was much enlarged, or rather re-formed, in 1505, and we are told that almost every street had its own theatre.

Erasmus seems to have had a poor opinion of the learning of the men of the Netherlands, but perhaps his reflections on them were meant to refer chiefly to the theologians of the University of Louvain, against whom he had every cause to complain. Not only did they tirade against Luther's doctrines, but they did their best to oust Erasmus himself from Brabant whenever he came there, and regarded his and all other men's studies of

[1] Hymans, "Bull. des Comm. Royales d'art et d'archéologie," 1877; Fierens-Gevaerts, "Les Primitifs Flamands," III, p. 198.

[2] "Colloquies of Erasmus," translated by N. Bailey, 1878.

the classics as anathema. He realized that those who opposed the doctrines of the Reformation were the same as those who tried to suppress the study of Greek. When he settled at Louvain to lend his services to the College which had been founded to extend the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and thus to bring up a class of student able to study the Scriptures, he was hounded from the town by the University.

There were, however, among the prosperous Antwerpers some who were free from bigotry of all sorts and found keen enjoyment in intellectual pursuits, but they were few in number. It is needless to say that the printers were regarded as the agents of the Evil One, and it is natural that the most intelligent and go-ahead of their number should soon throw in their lot with the Reformers. Erasmus had taught men—even those in Kings' palaces—to admire if not to love the classics, and through his friends in Antwerp he must have greatly affected the minds of men. He often resorted to the Antwerp Library.

Margaret of Austria's upbringing at the French Court had made her despise the Flemish language, with the result that French was much more used as the official language than it had been even under the Dukes of Burgundy. Margaret knew no more of German than her father did of French, and Charles was never at home in the languages of his German or Spanish subjects. Latin was still the language of the scholar and the divine, and the teaching of it in schools was a prerogative which the clergy tried to keep, for they regarded such knowledge as dangerous in irresponsible hands. In 1521 the Latin school attached to the Church of Our Lady was the only one authorized in the town, but one was established later in each of the three parishes.

Although the seeding of the plant of Lutheranism in Antwerp (1518–19) provided a cause for anxiety of one sort, still these first years of Charles's absence were years of prosperity for the town and saw a great increase of commercial activity, which was no doubt partly due to the good relations prevailing with the English. In this respect it was to Antwerp's advantage that Henry VIII was now so firmly set on the English throne that traitors found less business to do at Antwerp than in the days of his father, and ceased to cause so much trouble between the two countries. But even at this time we find, on one occasion at least, that the Ship Inn on the Fish Market was being used as a place where the White Roses' servants had interviews with merchants of Norfolk.[1]

The cloud which seemed to threaten the peaceful relations between the two countries most was what Henry might do with the town of Tournai, which with the help of Maximilian he had captured from the French in 1513. It was known that the

[1] Brewer, II, Part I, No. 1510.

expense of maintaining the garrison was very great, and it had been felt in Antwerp for some time that the English would hand it over either to the French or to the townspeople, and when the former course was taken in 1518 there was great fear there might at once be war between France and the Netherlands for the ownership. This feeling was to some extent justified by the fact that the capture of Tournai was one of the first objects aimed at by Charles when three years later war actually broke out with Francis.

Charles occupied the year following his arrival in Spain in setting everything in order in his new kingdom, and he had not completed the task when the Emperor died. Maximilian's obsequies were performed in Antwerp on the 14th of March, 1519, and it was ordered that all shops and taverns should be shut during the service. While the English merchants were away at the Church of Our Lady some miscreants injured their cloth.

It now became Charles's chief object to get himself elected King of the Romans, and in his need he turned to his aunt Margaret, for she could borrow at Antwerp the large sums of money which alone could enable him to outstrip the other competitors for this dignity. At this time (1519) Antwerp as a money-market was not comparable to what it became at the end of Charles's reign, but already it excelled any known to Flanders or the North of Europe.

At this time we can see Antwerp through the eyes of Dürer, for he visited the town and kept a careful account of all he saw and the people he met as well as of the money he spent. The object of his visit was to obtain from Charles a confirmation of grants made to him by Maximilian. Also the plague was in Nuremberg at this time and Antwerp was a place at which he might sell some of his pictures, as well as make the acquaintance of Metsys and many influential and rich men. He left Nuremberg on the 12th of July, 1520, and travelling with his wife and their maid, Susanna, carried a good supply of his engravings and wood-cuts to sell or give away.[1] Arriving at Antwerp on the 2nd of August, he lodged at the inn kept by Jobst Planckfelt. He agreed to pay eleven florins (gulden) a month for a sitting-room, bedroom and bedding, and two stivers for a meal, exclusive of wine or beer, his wife and maid taking their meals upstairs to save expense.

On the day of his arrival he was invited to supper by Bernhard Stecher, who had recently succeeded Wolff Haller as the Fuggers' Factor, and partook of a magnificent repast. On the following Sunday the painters of the town invited him and his wife and maid to supper at their chamber, and he admired their silver plate and the costly viands. The painters brought their wives with them, and as Dürer was led to his place at the

[1] See the group of books in the bibliography dealing with Dürer's tour.

table all stood up as if he had been "a great lord." Several important persons were present and they all treated him with great courtesy. While he was yet with them came an official from the Magistrates with two servants and presented him with four jars of wine-of-honour with assurances of the Magistrates' goodwill, and afterwards came Master Peter Frans, the town-carpenter, and presented him with two jars of wine with the offer of his services. The festivities were kept up far into the night, and their hosts escorted the Nurembergers to their inn with lanterns, thereby doing them great honour.

Dürer visited Quentin Metsys at his house at the sign of the *Ape* in Tanners' Street and received hospitality from many persons, including Jan van Brandon (the factor of the King of Portugal), Alexander Imhoff, Tomasso Bombelli, Wolff Haller, Ægidius (at whose house he met Erasmus), Ambrosius Hochstetter, Præpositus (the Prior of the Augustinians and the chief exponent of Luther's doctrines in the town), and Gerard van der Werve. Both the painter and his wife dined with the Guild of Goldsmiths on Carnival Sunday, and he was present at a great banquet given by Master Lopez on Shrove Tuesday, to which came many in costly fancy dresses, among these being Tomasin van Brandon, the Genoese silk-merchant and treasurer to Margaret of Austria, and the revelry on this night also was kept up until the small hours of the morning.

Many gave presents to Dürer and to his wife, in some cases in return for engravings or drawings presented by him. The list of these presents is interesting, for it shows what sort of things passed from hand to hand at this time when the products of the East and West were coming up the Scheldt in greater quantity at every tide. The list includes a piece of white coral; a wooden weapon from Calicut; a plaited hat of alder-bark also from Calicut; a small Spanish mantilla and three portraits of men (these were given by Erasmus); a pair of gloves (very rarely seen as yet); Portuguese and French wines; a small barrel full of all sorts of sweetmeats, including sugar-candy, barley-sugar, marzipan, and some sugar-canes (a gift from Roderigo Fernandez of Portugal); a small green parrot; some porcelain (presumably from the East); feathers from Calicut; a coconut; an old Turkish whip; a cedar-wood rosary; some oysters; a Turkish cloth; a musk-ball; quince-electuary; candied citron; barrels of capers and olives and a jar of tiriax (or theriack, an antidote to poison). A visitor to Antwerp saw many things he had never heard of before.

Like all good tourists Dürer was persuaded that the whale's bone then at the Town House was part of the skeleton of the giant Antigonus and he paid a stiver to ascend the tower of the Great Church. His host took him to the Eeckhof or Town Warehouse where the painters were at work on triumphal structures for the

coming of Charles. Not only did he see Charles's entry into the town on the 23rd of September, but also the procession of Corpus Christi on the 30th of May of the same year. Soon after his arrival Jobst Planckfelt had taken him to see the last wonder of the town, namely the house which the Burgomaster, Arnold van Lierre, had just completed for himself. He was filled with admiration for this mansion with its spacious rooms, its tower and large garden, admitting he had never seen its like in Germany. Also he saw the new house in Stonecutters' Rampart which the Fuggers had recently built, with a tower, a fine garden, and stables which they had filled with good horses. He watched the Ommegang of Our Lady on the Sunday after the Feast of the Assumption. All ranks and classes were dressed in their finest clothes to watch it as it proceeded from the Mother-Church. Each company and guild carried its distinctive bearings and long pole-candles were carried between each section. Pipers, drummers, and trumpeters sent up a great noise. The Guilds of Goldsmiths, Painters and Embroiderers-in-silk, Sculptors, Joiners, Carpenters, Mariners, Fishermen, Butchers, Tanners, Weavers, Bakers, Tailors, Shoemakers, and all sorts of artisans walked in the procession, as did the merchants and their assistants. Then came the monks and nuns and other inhabitants of the religious houses, and then the Canons of Our Lady with all their clergy, choristers, and scholars, and the famous image of Our Lady carried by a score of men.

After these came the six Military Guilds and the soldiers in the service of the town on horse and foot, and a troop in red uniforms, splendidly and expensively dressed. Wagons at the tail set forth groups and figures from the Scriptures—the Prophets in their order, the Annunciation, the three Kings riding on camels, the Flight into Egypt, etc.—and legends, St. Margaret and her maidens led a dragon by her girdle, and St. George came with his Squire. Many boys and girls rode representing saints and dressed accordingly in the costumes of different countries. The procession took two hours to go by.

Dürer made Antwerp his headquarters for a little over a year, visiting several of the towns which lay at a short distance. He went to Brussels in August with Tomasso Bombelli, where Margaret of Austria sent for him and Bernard van Orley made him a banquet. He was shown two large rooms full of arms of Mexican natives and a sun made of gold, a fathom broad, and a moon of silver of the same size, and all kinds of wonderful objects used by the Mexicans, "much better worth seeing than prodigies," as he says. In October he followed Charles to Aix-la-Chapelle and then to Cologne, where he received the desired confirmation of the grants made to him by Maximilian. Returning by the Rhine he went to Nymwegen, Heerewaarden, and Bois-le-Duc, coming back to Antwerp after an absence of seven weeks. While he was

away—on St. Martin's Day—his wife's purse was cut off and stolen with the money and keys it contained in the crowd inside the Church of Our Lady. He had hardly settled down again in Jobst Planckfelt's hostelry when news came that a huge whale had been washed up at Zierikzee, and off he went to see it. But by the time he got there the whale had been washed out again and he nearly paid for his curiosity by being drowned on the journey.

In April he went to Bruges with Hans Lieber of Augsburg and Jan Provost the painter, and after visiting Ghent returned to Antwerp. He had not brought with him the requisite materials for oil-painting and had to borrow what he needed from Patinir. He did not do many oil paintings during his stay, but a number of drawings mostly in charcoal. The beautiful portrait in oils of Bernard van Orley now at Dresden was painted at this time and ranks among his best work. He made portraits of Jan van Brandon, of Jobst Planckfelt (now in the Städel Gallery), of Patinir (now at Weimar), of Felix Hungersberg the lute-player (now in the Albertina), of the three brothers Bombelli, of Nicholas Kratzer the astronomer (now in the Louvre), of Jan Provost the painter, of Cornelius Graphæus, of Erasmus, of Hans Baldung Grien the painter (who had come to Antwerp probably with Jan Swartz), and of Jacob Præpositus the Lutheran Prior of the Augustinians. He attended the wedding of Patinir at the time he took Joanna Noyts for his second wife. Another artist with whom he made acquaintance was Gerhard Horebout of Ghent, the miniature-painter. When he began to think of returning home he decided to make an effort to secure the patronage of Margaret of Austria, and with that object set out for Mechlin with a number of his works; but she did nothing for him. In truth he was disappointed with the patronage he had secured during his visit to the Netherlands and complains rather bitterly, particularly of Margaret.

It was at the beginning of June 1521 that Dürer met Lucas of Leyden at Antwerp. Each of these painters wished to meet the other. Lucas was at this time about twenty-seven years old, and had started on a tour from Leyden to visit the famous Netherland painters, particularly with a view to being at Antwerp while Dürer was there. Van Mander tells us that he travelled as a person of consequence in his own boat well equipped with everything he could require, and thus arrived at Middleburg. There he entertained Jan Gossart and other painters at a princely banquet, and then taking Gossart with him he resumed his journey, going through the Flemish towns to Antwerp.

Gossart also bore himself like a great lord, going dressed in a robe of cloth-of-gold, while Lucas wore a suit of fine yellow camblet, "shining in the sun like gold." Some said that Gossart so outshone the other that he came to be reckoned the greater of the two. It was said that Lucas thought that on this journey

some jealous painter gave him poison which caused his health to decline afterwards. When he reached Antwerp he invited Dürer to dinner. The guest had an immense admiration for his host and drew a portrait of him (now in the Gallery at Lille). A few days later they exchanged some of their works. Dürer was making his preparations for departure when, on the 2nd of July, 1521, he was summoned to attend Christian of Denmark, whose portrait he made, following him to Brussels. Thence the painter made his way back to Germany by Maastricht.

The news that Charles had been elected to the Imperial Crown reached Antwerp on the 30th of June, 1519, and festivities took place on the 24th of July, the Nations and the Wycks offering prizes for various competitions. Now the four years' truce with Guelders expired, and Charles of Egmont prepared to invade the Campine, and did in fact some marauding on the border, but not much came of it. This year (1519) was remarkable for two things—the good harvest which brought great plenty, and the spread of Lutheran doctrines.

The next year (1520) was one of pageantry. In the spring Charles, on his way from Spain, was received in great state by Henry VIII in England, and in the summer "those suns of glory," the Kings of France and England, met on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. From England Charles crossed to Flushing and passing through Flanders reached Antwerp on the 23rd of September. He was received with the greatest display of loyalty. Beautiful women, more than half naked, met him in the streets, and the "Violet" acted plays upon the Kauwenberg at great expense. The fêtes lasted for three days and Charles and his suite lodged in the beautiful new House of Lierre. Charles found the States-General already assembled at Antwerp, and they granted an Aid for his Coronation.[1]

In spite of the generosity of the States-General, an acute observer might detect that there was much dissatisfaction among the people of Antwerp. Charles had been trying to give the Abbey of St. Michael *in commendam* to the Bishop of Liége, and disputes had arisen between him and the town over the proposed sale by him of the tolls on the Hont. Also the dissatisfaction with Charles among his subjects in Spain had spread to the people of Antwerp, so that the Master of Posts had felt it wise to stop private letters lest Netherlanders should learn the true state of things. Besides this there was already much complaint, particularly in the States of Flanders, at the greatness of the sums of money Charles was taking from them.[2] Antwerp was very

[1] There was not another meeting of the States-General at Antwerp until 1578: Génard, II, p. 234.

[2] Brewer, III, Part I, No. 988. In 1520 his Castilian subjects forced Charles to close the American trade to all but Spaniards. They feared he intended to admit Antwerp to a share in it. This may well have caused part of the murmuring in Antwerp. See Armstrong, "Charles the Fifth," I, p. 89.

full of people on their way to the Coronation. Charles was crowned at Aix on the 23rd of October (1520). Luther burnt the Pope's Bull on the 10th of December, and in the following January was placed under the Ban. In the Netherlands the first of a series of ordinances against heresy was published in the spring, and the Edict of Wurms was applied to the country in the summer.

By the death of Chièvres in 1521 the Netherlands lost a good friend, for he had always favoured peace with France; but it is doubtful whether he could have averted the coming wars even if he had been in power and resident in the Netherlands. The recent election of Charles to the Empire and the vast increase in the dominions under his hand, caused by the deaths of Maximilian and Ferdinand, had made natural foes of the two royal houses, already long at feud with each other. Charles's chief desire was now to possess Milan and Genoa, for by this way lay the route from Spain to Germany and the Netherlands.

If Francis could more easily extort money for his wars from his subjects, Charles could turn to the rich Netherlands, and the inhabitants were asked time after time to disgorge their wealth to pay for enterprises which did not concern their well-being. To be part of a vast Empire perhaps benefited the trade of Antwerp, but the Netherlands came to be little more than a dependency of Spain and got so out of touch with their Sovereign and his advisers that such things became possible as actually occurred in Philip's reign.

Antwerp had to pay much and to send men to serve in the wars, but was never in peril except when Marten van Rossem raided Brabant in 1542, but losses were sustained through the seizure of ships off the French coast. Sometimes occurred an interruption of trade with England caused by disputes, but these differences came to nothing during Charles's reign. Throughout 1520 Margaret had prepared for the war that was sure to come by forbidding the export of grain and horses. Preparations went on throughout the Netherlands during 1521, the States of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zeland, and Hainaut giving generous Aids on being convinced that the war was inevitable, and Antwerp gave a large sum. It was the duty of the Margraviate to provide about one-third of the total number of men summoned in Brabant. Hostilities were begun by Robert de la Marck and Charles of Egmont, who in April made attacks on the Northern and Southern Provinces respectively, urged on by Francis; and at the same time the French invaded Navarre. In June the French seized merchant-ships in the English Channel on their way from Spain to Antwerp, and the Emperor retaliated by seizing the goods of all French merchants in Antwerp.[1]

We have seen that just before his departure from Antwerp,

[1] Brewer, III, Part II, No. 1388.

Dürer was sent for by Christian of Denmark. This unfortunate Prince, the brother-in-law of the Emperor, had arrived in Antwerp on the 1st of July. There was at the time considerable dispute as to the manner and cause of his journey. Some said he had with him a large fleet to assist Charles against France and that he himself would take a command in the army ; others said that he only came on a visit. As a matter of fact he had travelled by land to Antwerp with only a few attendants, riding post through his enemies' country. The cause of his coming to the Netherlands was in the first place to get payment of his wife's dower. In consequence of Charles's inability to pay the amount which he had promised at the time of the marriage (1514), Christian had already proved cantankerous and had closed the Sound to Netherland ships in 1517–18, until Antwerp and other towns had guaranteed the payment. Christian also hoped to enlist Charles's help against Frederick of Holstein, the Baltic towns and the Swedes. The fulfilment of these plans—and indeed all Christian's enterprises in the Baltic—would have the effect of raising the price of grain in Antwerp, and it is not surprising that he was thought of with suspicion. Dürer noticed how surprised the Antwerpers were to find him so manly and handsome. With Dürer in attendance he went on to Brussels, and was there welcomed by Charles, who had been on the point of setting out for Antwerp when he heard of his arrival there. On the 11th of July the Emperor, the King, and the Regent went to Antwerp, where several matters called for their presence. Two days after their arrival Luther's books were publicly burnt; and on the next day Charles laid the foundation-stone of the new Choir of the Church of Our Lady.

There was evidently great discontent in the town at the time, and it is small wonder, for the people saw a war ahead of them and many looked with suspicion on the steps being taken against those who were bitten by Luther's doctrines. The nobles on the contrary looked forward to the war with as much joy as they would to a wedding.[1] On the evening of the 15th of July Charles gave a supper to the Pope's Ambassador, and on the next day started with Christian to Bruges to meet Cardinal Wolsey and conclude a treaty with Henry VIII against France. It was ordered at Antwerp on the day of his departure that all his vassals must be ready on the 25th of the month to go to Namur and thence to France. In August preparations of all kinds were being made in the town, and we find the Armed Guilds and the Trade Guilds setting out in November. In July the Imperialists had won a victory in Navarre, but many villages in Hainaut and Flanders were burnt before Charles took Tournai (December). This feat and the capture of Genoa by the Imperial army was the result of the campaign. Antwerp received a visit

[1] Brewer, III, Part II, No. 1419.

from Charles in May 1522, before his departure for England and Spain, but after that saw no more of him for nine years. He left Margaret with the treasury almost empty, and she had to make strenuous efforts to borrow money in Antwerp. The expense of the armies in Italy and Spain prevented Charles sending any money to the Netherlands, and his penury in the Provinces was so great that the Master of Posts at Antwerp and his colleagues along the great road to Calais were not paid their salaries, and as their disbursements were heavy the service fell into disorder.[1]

Friesland submitted in 1523, but Guelders continued the war. When King Christian found he could get no help from Charles against his enemies, he returned to Denmark, but was soon ousted by Frederick of Holstein assisted by the Hansa towns. He fled to the Netherlands, arriving unexpectedly at Antwerp on the 9th of May, 1523, with his Queen, their son and two daughters, attended by three or four women and some fifty halberdiers. The shelter given him in the Netherlands and his relationship by marriage to the Emperor gave Frederick of Holstein an excuse for closing the Sound against the Netherlanders —a course he was anxious to adopt to gratify the Baltic Hansa towns. Thus Christian's stay in the Netherlands was a continual embarrassment to Antwerp trade, for ships were captured and no grain or other Baltic produce came to the town. He resided for the most part at Lierre, until he began the efforts to recover his throne by force which resulted in his lifelong captivity. The Truce of Heusden restored peace with Frederick and the Hansa in June 1524, but a general revolt was still feared as a consequence of the distress and hatred of the war which was being waged in Italy.

There were in fact outbreaks in several towns. Antwerp was full of men thrown out of work by the decay of industries in Flanders and of unpaid soldiers turned robbers, while much of the country round had been plunged under water by recent floods. Food had been very cheap in 1519, but three of the leanest years possible followed this one of plenty, caused by the war with Frederick of Holstein, and the price of wheat rose in Antwerp to two crowns the viertal (40 stivers) or more, and rye to 36 stivers, and the poor had to eat bread made of barley and other substitutes.

The question men asked themselves at the time of the Truce of Heusden was how far were the people of Antwerp inclined to revolt in imitation of the peasants of Germany? What revolutionary ideas had flown into men's heads together with scraps of Luther's teaching? In fact during the Peasants' War in Germany (1524–6) there was great fear among the well-to-do lest the have-nothings in the town might join hands with some

[1] Brewer, IV, Part I, No. 287.

of the peasant bands if they came that way and overthrow the established order of things.[1]

The teaching of the reformers of religion had bred dissatisfaction and men were weary of the wars with France and Guelders. Both the German peasants and those who did not hesitate to say Antwerp was no paradise were considered by contemporaries as the product of Luther's teaching—as no doubt they were to some extent—and as such it is most convenient to class them even in the present day and to treat of them in a special chapter. Suffice it to say here that there was a rising against the ecclesiastics in Bois-le-Duc in 1524 and in other towns, and that the Magistrates took every possible step to prevent a similar occurrence in Antwerp. So many murderous assaults were perpetrated in the town in 1525, by night and day, that in July all the inhabitants were ordered to go unarmed and to carry lights at night. It was declared that none must attack the officers of the town and that innkeepers must warn their guests against carrying arms.

Stabbing and street hooliganism were prohibited and men were ordered not to go about beating drums and playing pipes or marching in processions with banners and flags. Several ordinances were issued in this year with the similar object of securing order in the town. The discontent among the people was augmented by the drowning of an Augustinian monk turned Lutheran, in July 1525. At the end of that year a man was executed for having assisted—so it was said—in raising an uproar in Cologne. Such men had to be got out of the way. Another dangerous man was Diego de Vaille, who had already been banished by the Magistrates for speaking ill of them, especially of the Burgomaster, Arnold van Lierre. Going then to Spain he obtained letters from Charles overriding the order of the Magistrates and at this critical moment returned to Antwerp, intending—it was thought—to effect something against the Magistrates. They lost no time in banishing him again, but once more he obtained letters from the Emperor and came into the town, although he seems to have attempted no further mischief. In 1525 an attempt was made to conciliate the townspeople by suppressing the Papen-Kelder and abolishing the beer-excise.

The fear of a rising was over when the Peasants' War subsided. The chronicles tell us that the Florentine merchants residing in Antwerp celebrated the election of Clement VII to the Papacy and the whole town rejoiced over Charles's victory at Pavia. When news came of the Treaty of Madrid the town bells were rung and Margaret went in a procession to the Church of Our Lady, where High Mass and Te Deum were sung, and in the evening were bonfires and other festivities in which the English merchants took part "with liberality of wine to all

[1] See pp. 159 *seq.*

who chose to drink, which were not a few, as it lasted from 8 p.m. to 2 a.m. All the time this house (*i.e.* the English house), which is a thoroughfare, lacked no drinkers." [1] However, the League of Cognac soon set the Imperialists fighting again, and on the 26th of July, 1526, came the good news that Bourbon had taken the Castle of Milan for Charles and in the next year news of the Sack of Rome. On the 8th of June, 1527, the great bell was played in honour of the birth of Philip, afterwards Philip II. All these things are recorded by chroniclers of Brabant and Flemish chroniclers of the time, who seem to have now a more world-wide view than before, following the Emperor's army in the spirit. They talk too much of laurels won in Italy when we look for the doings of humble folk in the streets of Antwerp.

The alliance of 1527 between Francis I and Henry VIII was a serious menace to Antwerp commerce, but it was of short duration. Henry seized Netherland ships and sailors, with the result that in the spring of 1528 Margaret put a duty on English cloth—a proceeding which caused so much uneasiness in England that Henry had to enter a truce for eight months with both Emperor and Francis (Truce of Hampton Court, 15th of June, 1528).[2] War with Guelders continued, but the Treaty of Gorcum (3rd of October, published in Antwerp on the 14th of October) ended hostilities. No doubt the English were just as pleased as the Antwerpers with the Peace between their countries, for they had had great need of Netherland trade in the spring of 1528 when war was imminent. At that time there were great scarcity and hunger in England, and it was only the wheat-ships from the Netherlands which saved England from starvation. There was a long drought in Brabant in the spring, and it was feared in April in Antwerp that there might be a scarcity of water when fire arose. Rain, when it came, spoilt the harvest, so the wheat sent to England must have been from the Baltic. The half-dozen years beginning with 1528 were reckoned throughout Europe as being years of famine and in them there were repeated failures of the harvest. Trade in 1528 was slack owing to the Guelders War.

The Sweating Sickness of 1529 is worthy of being described at some length.[3] The name given to this extraordinary disease was the English Sickness or the English Sweat (Sudor Anglicus), because it originated in England, and it was at one time thought to be peculiar to the English. It is true that the first two outbreaks had been confined to England and Calais, even sparing the foreigners in that town. Its first appearance had been in August 1485, and it recurred in 1506 and 1517. The summer of

[1] Brewer, IV, Part I, No. 1969. [2] Henne, IV.

[3] Hecker, "Epidemics of the Middle Ages," also the "Boke of Jhon Caius against the Sweating Sickness"; "Chronyk van Antwerpen"; Bertrijn; L. Torfs, "Fastes des calamités publiques," etc.; M. & T., IV; Haræus, II.

1528 was very wet in England, as we have already seen; the rain which had been so long in coming continued for eight weeks and the damp caused an outbreak of sweating sickness in May. From England it spread to Hamburg, seizing Englishman and foreigner alike, and thence it traversed Germany and went from town to town through Juliers, Cleves, and down to Cologne, reaching Antwerp in September 1529 and then penetrating to Ghent, Bruges, and the other Flemish towns. In the space of three days it slew four or five hundred persons in Antwerp. There were no premonitory symptoms, but it fell on a man suddenly, sleeping or waking, walking or riding. There were few cases among children or old people, the middle-aged being the most liable to it. The crisis was reached in twenty-four hours. It usually began with a stinking sweat over the whole body, and if the patient did not die during its progress he was expected to recover. The sweat was accompanied by a quick pulse and a great thirst with restlessness, a headache, and in some cases by mild delirium. Sometimes an irresistible desire to sleep followed, which, if not resisted, proved fatal. The pestilential atmosphere around the sweating patient probably communicated the disease to those close by, and inns and taverns were the places where it was usually caught. It is curious to note that in spite of the constant coming and going of the English between England and Antwerp, it did not arrive at that port until it had swept over Germany.

The people noticed that a mist preceded its appearance. The English doctors had mastered the treatment of the disease during the outbreak of 1485. Their method was to refrain from giving very strong medicines, but to keep the body at an even temperature for twenty-four hours. Bed was the proper place for the patient, since no part of his body ought to be exposed to the air. The perspiration had to be neither excited nor checked, for either would certainly be followed by death. It was usual to cross the arms to prevent the air reaching the armpits. It is said that many died in the Netherlands through the ministrations of quack doctors, such men exacting from rich merchants and others promises of great reward in case of cure. These men and foolish doctors in the Netherlands took means to throw the patient into a violent sweat (the method being called "the Netherland regimen"), and often he was killed.

Among those who died of the epidemic were said to be Arnold van Lierre, the Burgomaster; Roger van der Weyden the Younger, Dean of the Guild of St. Luke; and Quentin Metsys, who was then living in the Carthusian Cloister at Kiel, besides many other distinguished citizens. The number of deaths was so large that within three or four days of the outbreak (on St. Michael's Day) the Holy Sacrament was carried in procession and supplication made to Heaven, the Magistrates, Canons,

Clergy, and commons, to the number of over 1,000, bearing torches and wax candles. Most of the chroniclers agree that it was due to this procession that the sickness instantly ceased; at any rate, it was ordered that on every Michaelmas Day a procession should be held in remembrance.

Many of the doctors had fled from Antwerp at the appearance of the epidemic, but others had been struck down by it. Jacques van den Kasteele, called Castricus of Antwerp, made its treatment his study. The Netherland doctors were very highly thought of. We have seen that Erasmus, when writing to More about the portrait Quentin was painting of him, jestingly says that the doctor had given him some pills which made him ill. In answer to this Sebastian Giustinian, the Venetian Ambassador in England, wrote that he (Erasmus) must be on his guard against physicians, for they made no difference in their treatment between a horse and a man.[1] Some jokes die hard. The non-qualified man was a curse of the time. Among the Ordinances of the Magistrates is one which lays it down that no one was to give medicine but those who had passed an examination and that such only might hang out a sign. Dr. Caius, who became the great authority on the Sweating Sickness during its reappearance in England in 1551, noted that the visitation of 1529 was more terrible in England, Germany, and Brabant than in other countries. He considered this was due to the evil diet of those countries, by which he meant too great indulgence in eating and drinking. The Netherland cooks were very famous. Dürer seems to have impaired his health by the feasting he did at Antwerp.

The streets of Antwerp, especially those round the old Burg, were very narrow, and disease spread rapidly among the people. Few precautions against infection were known and nursing the sick was in a primitive condition. The latter service was rendered by monks and nuns, chiefly by the Alexians or Cellites. These nursed all diseases, however infectious, and yet lived in the Vlaminxstraet, although it lay in the best part of the town. It was only in 1527 that the neighbours complained and the monks moved to a site at the end of the Long New Street near Jesus Chapel.

It may here be noted that leprosy, that scourge of the Middle Ages, was on the decline in the sixteenth century. Those afflicted were not all confined to the Leper-house (Terzieken) outside St. George's Gate, but a number of them lived in the town and the utmost the Magistrates did to safeguard others was to insist on their living in the least populated quarters. Better methods of living were killing the disease. Between the years 1517 and 1524 only sixty-one persons were called to be examined at the Leper-house as suspects. Of these fourteen were found to be

[1] Brewer, II, No. 3414.

infected and twenty-four to be free, while eighteen were put back for further examination and five failed to present themselves. The census of 1526 records the nuns and servants in the Leper-house without saying there were any lepers, but this is probably accounted for by their being written off as already dead. Lepers were allowed to wander and beg in their places of birth and domicile, but nowhere else; and they, like prisoners and the mendicant orders, were excepted from Charles's Placard of 1531 forbidding begging. They had to wear caps, gloves, mantles, and other distinctive signs, and carry little bells to ring outside the doors of houses, for they might not enter a dwelling.[1]

Before Raphael Hythloday could be induced to tell More and Ægidius about the Island of Utopia the three of them talked of the proper punishment for crimes. The chronicles give many descriptions of executions and no apology is needed for setting forward this side of Antwerp life, for it often gives a better idea of the habits of the people than accounts of cavalcades of princes or processions of clergy. As we have seen, a poorter of Antwerp when accused of a crime was charged before the Vierschare, in which the Magistrates sat as Judges while the Schout prosecuted. At Antwerp to be burnt was considered the severest punishment which could be inflicted, and it was rarely resorted to in Charles's reign except for infringement of the Placards against heresy. Beheading or strangling was the usual punishment for the most serious crimes, with a quartering to follow. Burning and drowning became common after the Placards had been issued, but we are now speaking of crimes other than those against the Placards.

Thieves were hanged, makers of false coin were boiled alive in oil or water, and lesser offences were punished by banishment, the pillory, branding, cutting off the hand or ear, and flogging. The executions usually took place before the Town House, on the Oever by the Mint, or on the Gallows-Field outside the town (the present Pépinière), and later on the Meer, but sometimes secretly in the Steen, which was a very improper proceeding. The goods of all condemned to death were forfeited to the Sovereign, if there were no widow or children, otherwise these took half.[2] Men were tortured in the Steen, but probably not in the barbarous ways described by Brandt as being in use in other parts of the Netherlands under Charles.

At Antwerp as elsewhere the executioner was regarded with the greatest aversion, and as a matter of fact the holders of the office to some extent merited the hatred in which they were held. It would be interesting to know if in any of the pictures of executions painted by members of the Guild of St. Luke we see before us the actual executioner of Antwerp. This official, besides a fixed salary, received a special fee for each execution, varying in

[1] L. Torfs, "Fastes des calamités publiques," etc.
[2] Génard, II, p. 273, etc.

amount with the form of the execution. He had certain privileges of doubtful value. He was allowed to hold at his house games of chance, forbidden elsewhere, and under his supervision were all the prostitutes of the town. In 1508 on the 8th of July a man was to be executed on the Gallows-Field outside the town. The executioner on this occasion was a new hand and until a short time before had been apprenticed to a shoemaker. This being his first execution he bungled the job and was stoned by indignant bystanders and eventually killed by a shoemaker's boy who considered he had disgraced the Guild.

On an August evening in 1516 the executioner of the town, Jan Herdebol, was set upon on the Wharf, wounded and thrown into the Scheldt to perish. In 1525 the case arose of a man of Schooten, a village on the far side of Mercxem, who had been condemned to be strangled and burnt for the murder of his wife. He was brought up to the stake on the Gallows-Field, and the cord having been passed round his throat, he was thought to be dead. The executioner proceeded to prepare the fire, and for this purpose jumped on to the scaffold ; but it collapsed, bringing him to the ground, while the criminal remained hanging to the stake, tied by the chains round his body. The people became enraged at this (presumably they thought the victim was being unnecessarily tortured) and cried, "Slaet doot, slaet doot" (slay dead, slay dead), so that the executioner fled. The people took down the murderer and with great uproar brought him into the town to the Franciscans' Cloister and thence he escaped. These are not the only evidences of the unpopularity of the Antwerp executioners and of their incompetence.

Interesting from another point of view is an execution which took place in 1518. There existed a curious custom (or rather such a custom was erroneously supposed by the commons to exist) to the effect that if a man condemned to death could at the supreme moment find a young woman willing to marry him his life would be spared. In October of this year three brothers drank heavily at a tavern at Deurne until they quarrelled with the host. In the scuffle that ensued the host was so severely injured that the parish priest was summoned to hear his confession, but when he came they threatened to kill him too. The host died and the three brothers were sentenced to death for his murder. On the day of execution they were taken in turn. The eldest and the second were put to death, but when the youngest should have suffered a young woman was brought forward who professed herself ready to marry him. The executioner was about to proceed with his duty in spite of this, when a commotion arose among the people. The Military Guilds were called out and the Schout, fearing uproar, gave the prisoner over to them and they brought him into the town. The Old Guild of Cross-bowmen led him to their Guild-house on the Great Market Place,

it being their intention to set him free. But the Magistrates seized him again and in four or five days' time they had him executed secretly in the warehouse near the Franciscans, and his body was hung up with those of his brothers on the Gallows-Field.

The number of murders which took place does not seem to have been large for a town of this nature, if one may judge from the number recorded. No doubt many were never discovered at all and many murderers escaped; for instance, in 1514 a reward was offered for information as to the dead body of a woman which had been found buried in her clothes in St. James's churchyard. In 1518, and about that time, it was not safe to walk in the streets after dark. Erasmus wrote to his friend Sixtinus that thieves abounded in the town, but that the Magistrates were growing more vigilant. "Botter" was a term applied to any sort of thief, pickpocket or smart knave, but particularly to those who cheated at dice, and we find two of the fraternity having their eyes put out in the Market Place in July 1523.

About the same time there was a tumult before the house of the factor of the King of Portugal in the Long New Street and doors and windows were broken in with stones and his servants were set upon and injured, but we do not know how he had incurred dislike. Further misfortunes befell this merchant (his name was Jan van Brandon), for in the following year we find a reward of one hundred Rhine gulden offered (16th of September, 1524) for information as to those persons who had burglariously entered his house and carried off a great quantity of plate. In October 1523 a prisoner on his trial in the Vierschare had been condemned, when suddenly he seized the horn which was blown to make announcements and would have struck the Schout of Turnhout on the head in revenge for having been brought there, so on the next day his right hand was cut off before the Town House and he was then beheaded in front of the house called the *Lily*, in the Market Place, his body being placed on a wheel on the Gallows-Field. In May 1524 four highwaymen were caught at Calmhout and brought to Antwerp. Three of them were released, but the leader of the gang, who was a nobleman of the family of van Borsele, was executed in the Market Place before the *Lily*, but was buried honourably in the Dominicans' Cloister.

In 1526 a Portuguese was executed for cutting a fellow-countryman's throat on Falcon's Bridge to rob him. One Adrian Balc had the distinction of being the first man executed on the Meer Bridge (June 1527). He had murdered Andriese den Packer. A glance through the Ordinances of the Magistrates during the time Margaret was Regent shows that they dealt with things both great and small. The beating of drums and the playing of pipes at night and the carrying of knives were forbidden at one time when commotion was feared in the town, and pro-

visions were made that those lodging with innkeepers and even citizens were to be reported on arrival.

Dice- and card-playing in the Garden of the Military Guilds, in the Market Place, on the Wharf or elsewhere were forbidden at another time. Snowballing, playing ball in the Guilds' Garden, unless a member of the Military Guilds, shooting with gun or bow within a mile of the town, were prohibited. The swindling done over lotteries called forth an Ordinance saying that none should be raised without previous consent of the Emperor. When the scandal of the streets at night was at its worst it was decreed that he who injured another at night should be deemed guilty of murder if the man died, unless he had reported the incident within three days of its occurrence. At one time it was ordered that the poor must not sit under the tower of the Great Church, nor on the north or south side, inside the church, cooking and eating their food there, and fighting to the annoyance of everybody.

Adultery was a thing always hateful to the Magistrates. An Ordinance was issued in 1514 preventing anyone living openly in adultery from holding the high offices of the town or of the guilds, and decreeing that married women leaving their husbands and living in adultery should be marked by the hangman with a sign—namely, a piece of red cloth to be worn on the shoulders. Persons who lived in adultery and refused to separate within eight days were made liable to a fine. Also married persons found by night in public brothels were to be punished. It will be seen that the Magistrates were very solicitous about the morals of the people, but with what result we cannot really tell. Many times they issued regulations forbidding the houses in the streets along which the processions passed—that is to say, the principal streets—being used as brothels, but they seem to have regarded the complete suppression of these establishments as beyond their power. At the very end of Margaret's Regency—the 19th of November, 1530—an Ordinance was published ordering men and women of dissolute and loose life who kept inns of bad character to leave the best streets, such as those "by which the good folk go from St. George's to St. Andrew's Church," but these people might continue to carry on business in certain specified places.

In August 1529 the Treaty of Cambrai was published in Antwerp opening a period almost free from war. A general procession of guilds and commons was decreed to commemorate it, and prizes of meat and wine were offered for the most glorious appearance among the Military Guilds, Rhetoricians, and Craft Guilds. In the evening the Genoese merchants opened two vats of wine for the people.

Margaret of Austria died on the 30th of November, 1530.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST INTRODUCTION OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINES

SOME writers think that the heresy which Tanchelm introduced into Antwerp in the twelfth century was never eradicated, and that it sprang up time after time until, in the sixteenth century, it made a final appearance, hidden under the many forms of new doctrine which in Antwerp made up the Reformation.

The people of Antwerp were pious but also independent, the latter quality becoming more manifest as the commercial community increased and men of all sorts came to reside in the town. Nor were clergy and monks always in favour with the laity, for they were many in number, lazy as well as of loose morals, and preyed on the people. Scandals of all sorts arose to detract from the love and honour in which the best of them were held.

At the time Luther's doctrines first reached the Netherlands the people were at variance with the clergy on account of their immorality, the abuse by some of them of the privileges they possessed in the matter of introducing wine and beer free of excise, and the scandal caused by the sale of Indulgences and other exactions of a similar kind. The intolerance of this rich and privileged class of the community was equal to their laziness and their neglect of spiritual duties. Indifference to their own moral conduct did not prevent their insisting on uniformity of faith among the people, and the advance of time had not put an end to the burning of heretics which illustrated the intolerance of the Middle Ages.[1]

In 1516 Nicolas de Grave issued a Flemish translation of the Bible at Antwerp and the printing-press began to spread ideas of all kinds. Men brought back from Rome stories disparaging to the Papal Court and told how the simplicity of the trusting Netherlanders was ridiculed there. It is not surprising that the citizens of the most thriving town in Northern Europe felt they had outgrown the old order of things and must be prepared for change. Of course the clergy and monks were not all indifferent to what their duty dictated, and at Antwerp, as at

[1] The chroniclers note that in 1502 a man was burnt at Brussels for not believing in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception: "Chronyk van Antwerpen,"

Wittenberg, it was the monks of the Augustinian Order who first raised head against abuses within the Church. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Augustinians, like the other mendicant Orders, had been reformed, and a branch which styled itself the Observants seceded from the rest with the Papal leave, forming a new congregation which came to be known as the Saxon branch. The strictness of their rule and their devotion to all that was good distinguished them from the other monks and the secular clergy.

It was to the Saxon Augustinians that Martin Luther belonged. The first monastery founded in the Netherlands by this Order was that at Enkhuizen, but it had for some time been their desire to establish themselves also in Antwerp, when, in 1513, two burghers—Joost Hoens and Marcus Mussche—invited them thither and gave them land on which to build.[1] This ground lay behind the Mint and thereon they built a chapel which was completed and dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the year of their arrival, the consecration taking place in the early morning for fear of interference on behalf of the Chapter. We have already seen that the Chapter opposed the coming of all who wished to share with them the profits resulting from the celebration of the sacred offices. The contest with the Chapter was keen and bitter. The Canons had right on their side, but popular opinion was with the Augustinians, and to this the Canons had at length to bow. Being at last free to build their monastery, John of Mechlin came from Enkhuizen to be Prior over the eight monks who had come to the monastery. They quickly erected the monastic buildings, but they never saw the church quite completed.

When—on the 1st of November, 1517—Martin Luther nailed his propositions with regard to Indulgences to the door of the Cathedral at Wittenberg it was duly felt in the Netherlands that an event of great importance had taken place, and chroniclers made note of it; but the ideas to which he gave expression were not new in those parts and already this form of traffic had been denounced. The sale of Indulgences had been introduced into the Netherlands in the middle of the fifteenth century, but a vast impetus was given to the trade when in 1513 Leo X decreed their sale for the purpose of raising money for the building of St. Peter's at Rome. At Antwerp the business was farmed out to Italian merchants, and by this means great sums of money found their way over the Alps. The scandal in Antwerp was enormous, for the Italian merchants induced the clergy, whose duty it was to preach, to puff the Indulgences in their sermons.[2] The disgust produced in the minds of the people of the Netherlands by such dealings did as much as all else put together to bring Pope and

[1] For all the doings of the Augustinians in Antwerp see Janssen's "Jacobus Præpositus."

[2] Meteren, folio 11.

clergy into disrespect. That the Pope was being held up to ridicule in Antwerp, together with the Archduke Charles, is proved by an Ordinance of the Magistrates of the 2nd of October, 1510—four days before the latter arrived in the town—forbidding anyone to speak to the prejudice or ridicule of either.[1]

Luther's doings at Wittenberg, however, aroused the embers that had been smouldering. In May of 1518 Erasmus writes that Luther's works in German and Latin are in all hands in Antwerp,[2] and in June of the same year Ægidius writes that the Dialogue "De Julio"—which ridiculed the Pope—was in great demand there,[3] while two years later Luther's pamphlet against the sale of Indulgences was published in a Flemish translation by Nicolas de Grave.[4]

In March 1515 the Magistrates passed sentence on four men who had openly eaten meat on Ash Wednesday and persisted in doing so in spite of reproof. They were banished.[5] Thus we can judge of what was in the minds of the people of Antwerp when the Augustinian monks espoused Luther's cause and began to preach daily in their chapel against the sale of Indulgences. In a few weeks such crowds flocked to hear them that the ground-room of the church became insufficient and galleries were set up. By this time John of Mechlin had been succeeded as Prior by Jacob Præpositus (Probst or Spreng), who preached the inefficacy of Indulgences and urged that men could be saved by God alone through Christ. Indeed for the next three years war was waged by preachers and printers on both sides. It was at this time that Erasmus was much at Antwerp, Louvain, Bruges, and other Netherland towns. The people of Antwerp were little affected by the writings of this scholar, while they devoured all that they could obtain from Luther's pen. The Carmelite who preached against Erasmus in his presence in St. Peter's at Louvain, on account of his New Testament—much to the amusement of the congregation—came over on the following Sunday to repeat the performance at Antwerp.

Many causes contributed to diminish the effect of such fulminations from pulpits, but the reasoned arguments promulgated daily at the monastery of the Augustinian Friars had great weight with the people. In Germany it was thought that the hostility of the Augustinians to the sale of Indulgences was to be accounted for by jealousy, for the Bishop of Mayence had taken away their privilege of selling them in Germany and had given it to the Dominicans. There may have been a little truth in this interpretation of the quarrel between the two Orders, but it was not confined within such bounds. In a letter written in the spring of

[1] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[2] "De Nederlanden onder Keizer Karel," by Dr. Paul Fredericq, p. 135.
[3] Brewer, II, Part II, No. 4238.
[4] Paul Fredericq, "La Question des Indulgences dans les Pays-Bas," etc.
[5] *Idem*, "Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis."

1519 Erasmus informs Luther that the Prior (of the Augustinians at Antwerp) was devoted to him and that he preached Christ and Christ alone.

It is not surprising that one of the first to take up Luther's cause in the Netherlands should be one of his own Order, and Præpositus had been his companion and pupil in times past. They had shared a cell at Erfurt and had been together at the University of Wittenberg. Henry of Zutphen, another leading member of the Order at Antwerp, was also from Wittenberg and probably knew Luther. It is uncertain when Præpositus became Prior, but not before 1519, for until that year he studied at Wittenberg, and so it is possible that he was not, as is usually said, the first in the Netherlands to declare himself a Lutheran. Perhaps the preaching at the Monastery began before his arrival from Germany ; perhaps only when he came fresh from Luther's side. It is important to remember that at this time the teaching of Luther had not been condemned by the Pope or by a General Council. It is true the University of Louvain had burnt his books in November 1519, but that had as little effect on men's minds as the preaching of the professors of that stronghold of scholasticism. In view of the fact that Luther's doctrines, to the minds of the rulers of his time, must have threatened the whole political and social edifice, it seems strange at first sight that no action was taken against the Augustinians until the Edict of Wurms was issued. The truth is that there was nothing that could be done, for the only tribunal before which such offenders could be brought—namely the Inquisition of the Bishops—had become too weak to be effective. Young Charles had gone to Spain a few weeks before Luther began his agitation, getting himself made Emperor, finding good councillors and settling all things in his new Spanish dominions, and this was enough to keep his hands full.

In 1518 Margaret of Austria was appointed Regent for the second time, and in 1520 Charles returned to the Netherlands on his way to be crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle. He entered Antwerp on the 23rd of September and remained there for five days. On the day of his departure he gave audience to Jérôme Aléandre, the Papal Legate, and this interview resulted in the issue of a Placard, the text of which is lost, condemning heretical books.[1] During his visit he ordered the rebuilding of the Steen, which later became the prison of many Reformers. Dürer was in Antwerp at this time, being feasted by Quentin and the painters and making friends with all sorts of people. He became acquainted with Præpositus and drew his portrait in charcoal.[2]

In September 1520 a Papal Bull had been published against

[1] Pirenne, III, p. 332.

[2] Martin Conway's translation of the "Tagebuch," 1889, p. 122.

Luther in Germany. It was burnt by him, together with the Papal Decretals on the 10th of December, at Wittenberg. No longer was it possible to delay repressive measures, and Charles's presence facilitated the plan decided on. The Diet—contrary to custom—was to decide a spiritual cause; Luther was summoned to Wurms and placed under the Ban (3rd of January, 1521), disappearing on his way back to Wittenberg and remaining for a long time hidden under the protection of the Elector of Saxony. It is usual to consider the Placard which Charles issued on the 22nd of March, 1521, as the first of the long series against heresy and probably that of the year before was not applicable to all the Provinces. By this Placard of March Charles ordered the Councils of Justice to burn Luther's books and forbade them to be sold, bought, or read.

On the 8th of May the Edict of Wurms was made applicable to the Netherlands. By its dictates the Magistrates were to remove from office all adherents to Luther and to condemn to death and confiscation of goods all who printed, sold, or bought books concerning questions of belief, and no books were to be printed without previous authorization by the ordinary or the faculty of theology. All who infringed these commands were to be held guilty of *lèse-majesté*, and those who informed against them were to take a portion of the confiscated goods.[1] Until this moment the Regent had been unwilling to carry out the will of the ecclesiastics, but now—by publishing the Edict of Wurms without the consent of the States—she took a step not in accordance with precedent and contrary to the communal liberties of Antwerp. Charles could do in his hereditary dominions what was impossible for him in Germany. From the 11th to the 15th of July he was again at Antwerp and on the 13th Luther's books were burnt there by the Imperial executioner. At this moment Præpositus was at Wittenberg, but he was soon back at Antwerp. As yet the Lutherans in the town were but a handful and it seemed reasonable to suppose their heresy could be easily eradicated.

The first to suffer in Antwerp was Nicolas of Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc), a learned schoolmaster, who was arrested and carried to Brussels, but found means to escape. In 1520—before the Emperor's edicts were published—Cornelius Graphæus had translated the book "Over de Christelijk Vrijheid" (Concerning Christian Liberty), by Johannes van Goch, writing a preface to it, and he had continued to write and speak in favour of Luther's doctrines. He was arrested at about the same time as the schoolmaster, and like him was taken to Brussels, where he was kept in prison until he became ill. Then he was made to burn the above-mentioned preface publicly and retract the errors it contained. He was taken to Antwerp and made (6th of May, 1522) to repeat his recantation on the rood-screen of the Church of Our Lady,

[1] Pirenne, III, p. 333, and Henne, IV, p. 300, etc.

whereupon he was taken back to prison in Brussels.[1] After his release he became Secretary to the town and pursued his literary efforts.

Præpositus had gone to Wittenberg in July 1521 and there he might have remained in safety, whereas he had nothing to expect but persecution if he returned to Antwerp. It was not long, however, before he was back in his monastery, and on the Eve of St. Nicholas' Feast Franz van der Hulst, Councillor of Brabant, came from Brussels with secret powers from Charles enabling him to act as Inquisitor, and summoned Præpositus to appear before him. On his appearance Van der Hulst gave him a letter summoning him to Brussels for a disputation and recommended him to obey it. Præpositus preached at the monastery on the next day and then repaired to Brussels. On appearing before the Council of Brabant he was sentenced by that body to imprisonment and was confined to the Franciscan monastery in the town, until such time as he thought fit to recant or determined to go to the stake for obstinate adherence to his beliefs. On Sunday morning, the 9th of February, 1522, he retracted his heresies in St. Gudule's. He was not sent to retract at Antwerp also—perhaps for fear of the people—but was allowed to retire to the Augustinian cloister at Ypres. This cloister was not of the Saxon branch, yet Præpositus was soon preaching again as before, and his second arrest soon followed. He was taken back to Brussels and condemned to be burnt, but he managed to escape to Luther at Wittenberg, never to return to the Netherlands.

At Antwerp in the meantime the words uttered and written by these men were bearing fruit among the people of common sort. On the 15th of February, 1522, the Magistrates had to order that none should read or sell Luther's books on pain of confiscation of goods and other punishment, and to forbid the hanging up of songs and ballads on church doors making fun of the Catholics.[2] It became obvious to Charles and his advisers that steps must be taken to stamp out the new spirit of independence which was manifesting itself among the people, and on the 23rd of April, 1522, certain men were appointed to this task. These were Franz van der Hulst, whom we have seen sent to arrest Præpositus, and Nicolas van Egmont, a Carmelite monk. These men were styled Commissioners, but were in fact Inquisitors. The Magistrates of Antwerp succeeded almost entirely in preventing these men exercising their office in the town and in preserving the poorter's right to be tried before the Vierschare for breach of the Placards, so the names of these Inquisitors and their successors rarely appeared in the history of the town and no very detailed description of them is necessary.

There had hitherto been but two kinds of Inquisition in the

[1] Brandt, I, p. 42.
[2] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I, p. 172.

Netherlands, namely, that set up by the Bishops—whose duty it was to hunt down heresy—and that set up by the Pope when circumstances called for it. Such tribunals were usually composed of monks, and when they found a person to be heretic he was handed over to the secular authority for punishment, and hundreds had met death in this way. But neither the Papal nor the Pastoral Inquisition was strong enough to cope with the present circumstances, and Charles therefore set up this secular tribunal to deal with heresy and to enforce the Placards. Van der Hulst was a layman and was appointed without the concurrence of the Pope. In fact by appointing him thus Charles got an enormous inquisitorial power into his hands, and the people arraigned before this tribunal were deprived of their right to be tried by their natural judges, and for matters of conscience were set before a newly established tribunal with a layman at its head, whose authority was derived from a temporal sovereign. Van der Hulst's authority was limited by Charles in that he could do nothing without the advice of the President of the Great Council of Mechlin, but behind the back of Charles the Pope in 1523 gave him power equal to that of the Apostolic or Pastoral Inquisitor, except in the trial of ecclesiastics.

In 1524 and 1525 Charles removed Van der Hulst and in conjunction with the Pope appointed three Inquisitors in his place. It must be remembered that the temporal courts had really no concern with questions of faith unless a Placard had been infringed, except to pronounce sentence and carry it out after trial by the ecclesiastical court.[1] Van der Hulst was instructed to search out all infected with heresy and to punish them as the Emperor himself would do. He received full powers to cite, arrest, and imprison heretics, to seize and make inventories of their goods, and to proceed against them by inquisition, by denunciation, and even by torture, and he was absolved from observance of the ordinary requirements of the law as to procedure. He could banish and pronounce confiscation of goods, nor was there any appeal from him provided he had consulted the President of the Great Council of Mechlin.[2]

On the 29th of April, at the suggestion of the Inquisitors, it was ordered that persons supporting Luther's doctrines in public should be cited and arrested and their goods inventoried, and that none must shelter them. There were two distinct crimes which it was possible to commit, firstly to entertain heretical doctrines, secondly to contravene the Placards. The former could be judged by an ecclesiastical judge alone, even when the accused was charged with having contravened the Placards as well, and if the prisoner did not remain " obstinate " it was by no means an unpardonable crime. Contravention of

[1] Paul Fredericq, " De Nederlanden onder Kaizer Karel," p. 36, etc.
[2] Pirenne, III, p. 335, etc.; Henne, IV, p. 303, etc.

the Placards was an affair for the secular judge. But the authority finally given to the Inquisitors by Emperor and Pope united in them the temporal and the spiritual jurisdiction over heretics and infringers of the Placards. With the aid of theologians they inquired into the consciences of men to see if they remained "obstinate" in their heresy, and if they did, with the aid of the President of the Great Council of Mechlin they condemned them to temporal punishments; also they punished contravention of the Placards.[1]

At the beginning of May (1522) Charles came to Antwerp, and on the 6th a further batch of Luther's books were consigned to the flames. By this time the Bishop of Cambrai had determined to take steps against the entire body of Augustinians at Antwerp, and at his instigation the Council of Brabant sent the Count of Hoogstraeten and Jerome van der Noort, the Chancellor of Brabant, to Antwerp in June. On their arrival they obtained the concurrence of the Magistrates and held an inquiry as to which of the monks were tainted with heresy; with the result that a number of them were placed in wagons and sent to Vilvoorde Castle. All of them, however, excepting two, expressed their willingness to recant and were sent back to Antwerp to make their declaration in the Church of Our Lady. The two monks, however, preferred the prospect of martyrdom to giving up their opinions and were kept in prison at Brussels.[2]

We can see from the town's Book of Ordinances (Gebodboeken) that in August 1522 a preacher in the Great Church was railed at by the mob and charged with preaching matter contrary to the truest Christian Faith, and throughout the autumn and the following spring folk of the commoner sort were summoned before the Magistrates for attending meetings where Luther's doctrines were taught. Among the inhabitants who were thus dragged before the Vierschare were Master Roland van Berchem, who was speedily released; Peter the Schoolmaster, who recanted publicly; Adrian and Aernd, both bookbinders, who were put in the pillory.[3] It is evident that by this time the Augustinians had, by means of their popularity, aroused great enthusiasm among the people for the doctrines they had themselves espoused. Towards the end of September (1522) the Regent came to Antwerp and presumably lodged as usual in the Abbey of St. Michael.

On Michaelmas Day Henry of Zutphen, who was then Prior of the Augustinians, went to the Mint, which stood close to St. Michael's at the end of the street in which his monastery lay, and began to preach there. On this day a crowd would flock to the Abbey, dedicated as it was to St. Michael, and he must

[1] Ed. Poullet, "Histoire de Droit Pénal dans le Duché de Brabant," Mém. Cour., etc., l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1870, t. xxxv.
[2] Bertrijn, p. 73. [3] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," XIV.

have known that to preach thus outside his monastery could not be tolerated. The Schout, Nicolas van Lierre, came immediately with his officers and carried him a prisoner into the Abbey of St. Michael. No sooner had the news of his arrest spread abroad than an uproar arose and a crowd of some three hundred women, with a certain number of men, assailed the Abbey, breaking doors and windows. Rescuing the Prior by force, they escorted him to his monastery.

On receipt of the news Margaret ordered the arrest of the Prior and that an inquiry into the origin of the commotion should be held, but so strong was popular feeling that the Magistrates would not act until they had the consent and support of the Broad Council. As it turned out, Henry of Zutphen escaped to Bremen and there preached Luther's doctrines until put to death as a heretic. So great was the fear among the people that some great thing would be done against them in vengeance for this uproar that many quitted the town—the first of thousands of Netherlanders who were forced to seek new homes in consequence of their adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation. In the end only three or four women were arrested for being concerned in the affair, and it appears that all of these were speedily released excepting one—Margriete Boonans or s'Gramhans, who was sent on a pilgrimage to Nicosia in Cyprus.[1] A few days after the riot the Magistrates ordered that there should be no preaching in the conventual houses or anywhere else except in the parish churches. The custom of preaching was getting only too common both inside and outside the town, at the Kruiphol, the Mud-Gate, the Church of St. Willebrord's and the Beguinage.

Matters were going from bad to worse and it seemed as if the new doctrines were going to overturn all things in the town, when Margaret with the concurrence of the Magistrates and the Broad Council decided to strike at the centre of all the disaffection by taking the drastic step of suppressing the Augustinian monastery altogether. On the 6th of October the monks were taken from the cloister, and those who could claim the right, as poorters of the town, to be judged by the Magistrates were lodged in the Cloister of the Boggaerds, but the rest were sent to the Castles of Vilvoorde and Hoogstraeten. The lay-brothers were sent out into the world again to resume the lives of ordinary citizens.

On the next day the Holy Sacrament was removed from their chapel to the Church of Our Lady, where the clergy received it in the presence of the Regent. Pope and Emperor gave their consent to the total destruction of the Cloister. In the church the altars were overthrown, the bells taken down, the doors and

[1] Bertrijn, and "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," XIV. See also Sir Robert Wingfield's letter to Wolsey in Brewer's "Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII," III, Part II, No. 2586 and No. 2593.

windows built up; the monks' property was sold and it was ordered that the place should be left desolate.[1] This treatment of the monks was resented in Antwerp and the Magistrates found it necessary to order that no injury or insult should be offered to the Commissioners who came to close the Monastery.

The chroniclers record frequent instances of punishment inflicted on individuals, but do not always assign the cause, and many of these may have been in consequence of heresy. On the 11th of October a printer of books and an engraver of seals were set on a scaffold in the Market Place for teaching Luther's doctrines. On the breast and back of each was marked a yellow cross, and this badge of infamy they were condemned to wear for life. They were taken back to prison; but soon both they and their adherents who had been arrested with them were set at liberty and absolved from wearing the cross. At the same time several other Lutherans were mutilated. It seems that the two monks—Hendricus Voes and Joannes van Essen—who had refused to recant after their arrest in the previous summer had been kept prisoners in Vilvoorde Castle. Of the new batch of monks sent there only one—Lambertus Thoren, who had succeeded Henry of Zutphen as Prior—was prepared to face the consequences of an obstinate adherence to heresy. These three were adjudged heretics and were handed over to the civil arm at Brussels. On Saturday, the 1st of July, 1523, the Eve of the Visitation, all three of them were placed on a scaffold, declared heretic, stripped of their ecclesiastical state, and then condemned to death.

In the afternoon of the same day Hendricus Voes and Joannes van Essen were burnt alive in the Market Place at Brussels. They met death with the greatest fortitude. On the way to the stake they cried aloud that they died as true Christians and while the fire was prepared they rehearsed a profession of their faith and sang to the glory of God. One of them is said to have declared that the flames were but as a path of roses strewn beneath their feet. The Catholics put abroad false stories as to the end made by these men. They told the people that one of the victims had appeared after death to a certain Augustiniau monk and had told him that they had both repented before death in the midst of the fire, and that therefore the Blessed Virgin, whose festival it was, had interceded for them so that their souls were in a state of salvation. But those nearest the fire said they died firm in their opinions.[2]

Luther acclaimed these two as the first martyrs of the Reformation and wrote a beautiful hymn to their memory, which was translated into the Netherland language and was read all over the country. This burning was Van der Hulst's first piece of work.

[1] In 1529 their church was turned into the Parish Church of St. Andrew and the Holy Sacrament was carried back.

[2] Brandt, I, p. 45.

Erasmus wrote from Basle: "Two poor creatures have been burnt at Brussels and the whole city has turned Lutheran."

Lambertus Thoren had been taken back to his prison after the scene on the scaffold and was not brought out to be burnt with the others. Indeed we hear no more of him, so probably he was done to death in his dungeon. The rest of the year 1523 seems unmarked by incidents of heresy in Antwerp, but by no means was the spirit of the reformers crushed.

In 1524 signs of heresy were observed in the preaching of the Pastor of the Parish Church of St. James, but all we know about the matter is that the Faculty of Theology at Louvain called him to account, and that he abjured his errors but afterwards relapsed. In March of the same year proceedings were taken against three dozen humble folk who, contrary to the orders of the Emperor, had held secret and unlawful meetings at which evangelical doctrines were preached.[1] All of these were released except one—Adrian the Painter—who was banished for six years for preaching in the streets. This all tended to show that these doctrines were spreading among the lesser folk, and that if discontent in other matters arose society might be overturned. The result of this was that when in June 1524 the Peasants' War began to sweep over Germany, there was something like consternation in the Netherlands.

The prosperity of the trade of Antwerp and the presence of Margaret of Austria during much of the summer of 1524 combined to keep all quiet throughout the year, but a revolution might have broken out at any moment. Neither Margaret nor the Magistrates had sufficient power to eradicate the new doctrines and could only inflict such punishments as banishment or some public shame for such acts as preaching and selling books. So far nothing that could be styled persecution had been attempted against the Lutherans in Antwerp. Those who printed books or attended meetings had been punished with no more severity than they would have been in the days before Luther began his agitation. The monks who had suffered had been given every chance of reconciling themselves with the Church which they had pledged themselves to support before resort had been made to extreme measures. The Inquisitors, or Commissioners as they were called, had sat in judgment on the Augustinians, but no layman of Antwerp had been sentenced to death by them.

The monks who enjoyed poorters' rights had not been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Vierschare, and such rights seem to have been disregarded only in the case of Graphæus and the schoolmaster. No doubt, if it had been possible to stamp out Lutheranism by force, measures would have been taken to that end, but no persecution of the reformers could be successful or could even be carried out on a large scale until people were

[1] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," XIV.

persuaded that the new doctrines were disreputable; and the time for that had not yet come. So far as Antwerp is concerned it was the action of the Lutherans themselves which brought about the change. On the 10th of June, 1525, the statue of St. Francis which stood by the Franciscans' Bridge was thrown into the canal by the Lutherans, and at the same time an image at the convent at the village of Luythagen was thrown into the water and the crucifix which stood on the Gallows-Field with the Virgin and St. John at its foot was broken in pieces.[1] Other outrages near the Leper-House and elsewhere followed during the summer, the perpetrators venting their rage by hacking and hewing the sacred objects in pieces. A graver aspect had evidently come over affairs.

At that time there were two preachers who drew great crowds to hear them. One was Heer Gielis, the parish priest of Melsele, a village in the Land of Waes, about two miles from Antwerp, and the other was a renegade Augustinian monk whose preaching was very popular in the town. The pastor drew such crowds that his church became too small to hold the people, and the services had to be conducted in the open air. He preached against the Pope, the Mass, and the clergy. These last, he said, were worse than Judas, for he had handed Christ over to those to whom he had sold Him, while they at Mass sold Him but failed to deliver Him. The ecclesiastics and monks worked up the Council of Brabant against these two.[2] The preachings and the iconoclastic outrages which resulted from them were made to assume a more dangerous aspect by reason of the social revolution which was in progress in Germany. It is difficult to say how far Luther's teaching led to the Peasants' War, but at the time some thought him directly responsible.

Gasparo Spinelli, writing from Antwerp to his brother on the 10th of May, 1525, pointed out that Lutheranism, besides being a religious revolution, was a democratic movement, and that it advocated a return to the days when fields were without boundaries and individuals had no rights to property. He said that in Flanders and Brabant the Lady Margaret enforced the law severely and so people feared to declare themselves openly, though in their own houses they lived in Luther's fashion. Many of the chief persons in Antwerp assured him that were the German peasants to approach the town, 20,000 men, all Lutherans, would take up arms.[3]

But nothing happened to arouse the spirit of the people to so great an extent as he feared. Charles and his contemporaries always spoke of these German peasants as Lutherans. If Charles was powerless to carry out the oath of his Joyous Entry to maintain the Catholic Faith, in so far as he could not prevent

[1] "Chronycke van Nederlant," p. 91, de Weert.
[2] Adrianus Hæmstedius, folio 51. [3] Rawdon Brown, III, No. 1007.

meetings being held in private, yet it was obviously the duty of those responsible for the government of the town to put an end to the preaching in public before some great disaster resulted therefrom, and with this end in view the Magistrates (29th of July) ordered that none should go to hear the sermons of the pastor of Melsele or of the Augustinian monk under pain of forfeiting his chief garment and three golden Carolus gulden, and at the same time offered a reward of one hundred golden Carolus gulden for the capture of either of the preachers. Anyone who gave either of these two any assistance was to be banished for ever from the Margraviate and to forfeit his goods. Also they decreed that none were to preach except the parish priests in their churches and the mendicant orders in their cloisters. All sorts of strangers had come into the outskirts of the town to preach, and men did not even know if they were of the clergy or not, for they wore laymen's clothes.[1]

On the very day after the publication of this Ordinance an incident occurred about which the authorities contradict each other, but the facts seem to be as follows. The renegade Augustinian monk who has been mentioned had been in the habit of preaching in a shipbuilding yard by Falcon's Cloister, near the Mud Gate. It was a Sunday and so large was the crowd which had assembled on this spot to hear him that he preached from a boat.[2] He was not dressed in clerical garments, for his hose were red and his cap of Spanish fashion. At the end of the sermon he was seized by two butchers who hoped for the reward offered and handed over to the officers at the Town House. Thence he was taken to the Steen and imprisoned. This man's name was Nicolas and he seems to have come from the ugustinian monastery at Ypres. So popular had he become and so large was his following that there was great anxiety among the rulers of the town as to what to do with him. The Broad Council was summoned to meet at six o'clock on the Monday morning, and it was decided to put him to death.

At about ten o'clock in the morning the Military Guilds and some of the Trade Guilds were put under arms, and a fire was kindled in the Market Place, as if the monk was to be burnt there. Great crowds of people assembled in the Market Place and in the adjacent streets. While they stood in expectation of seeing the execution, the Schout and the Burgomasters with their officers went to the Steen where Nicolas had lain all night, and he was carried through the Water Gate to the spot on the Wharf on which the crane stood, and then, as Sir Robert Wingfield wrote to Wolsey, " fair sent to Luther in a sack by water."

[1] " Chronyk van Antwerpen," p. 24 ; " Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I, p. 181, and II, p. 316.

[2] Some authorities say that the Augustinian did not appear at all and that his place was taken by another preacher, but the events are the same. At all events the preacher seems to have been an ecclesiastic.

Meanwhile a riot had broken out in the town and the Magistrates were compelled to bring four or five serpentines into the Market Place and to scour the streets all night. Some fourteen or fifteen rioters were seized. Wingfield writes five days later: "It is hard to tell what will come of this, for the town is thought to be marvellously corrupt." [1] Several members of the Military Guilds and other good people had been injured by the mob on the day of the execution, and even on the 5th of August it was necessary for the Magistrates to order that no injury should be done to such persons on account of the part they had played in the arrest and execution of the monk, under the penalty of a fine of a hundred gulden.[2] At this time the Augustinians had come to represent Lutheranism to such an extent that it was constantly asked, "What is your belief, that of the Dominicans, or that of the Augustinians?" [3]

On the 4th of September a broker named Michael Smits or Bramaert was placed on a platform before the Town House for having associated with Nicolas, the Augustinian monk, and for having suggested that the image of the Virgin should be burnt. Two days later he was put up again and his tongue was slit and he was banished for ten years.[4] We have no information as to what befell Heer Gielis, the pastor of Melsele, but on the 11th of September Bastiaen Noutsen and Judocus Lambert, his servant, were prosecuted for having given him lodging (as well as for having held meetings and for having opened a school outside the town at which Luther's doctrines were taught); [5] and on the 25th of November Lieven Zomere, a pastry-cook, and his wife Lysbeth were banished for ten years for associating with the same man.[6] In the spring of 1525 there had been a rising in Bois-le-Duc against the ecclesiastics, which no doubt was a consequence of the Peasants' War. The Magistrates of Antwerp were constantly on their guard against a similar occurrence in their own town and they kept a watchful eye on all suspicious characters.

The year 1526 opened with a feeling in men's minds that some disaster might fall on the town; on the 1st of January Sir Robert Wingfield wrote to Wolsey from Mechlin that fourteen days before "a sort of unthrifty folk" had broken a crucifix at night at Louvain and that it was expected that like matters would happen at Antwerp when the Regent went there in a week's time to attend the meeting of the States.[7]

In this year a very interesting man made his first appearance on the scene, namely Loy Pruystinck, a slater. He was one of a band of heretics who in 1525 were giving forth doctrines the

[1] Brewer, IV, p. 1, No. 1549, and "Chronyk van Antwerpen."
[2] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I and II. [3] Bertrijn, 76.
[4] "Chronyk van Antwerpen" and "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VII.
[5] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I. [6] *Ibid.*, VII.
[7] Brewer, IV, Part I, No. 1861.

purport of which we do not know. Meteren says that he went to Wittenberg in 1525 and there disputed with Melanchthon in the presence of Luther. It is probable that it is of Loy that Luther warns his followers at Antwerp in this year. If so, his teaching was not akin to his own. After this appearance Loy is not heard of until his second period of activity when, seventeen years later, he figured as the leader of a sect professing the doctrines of the Libertini and called Loïsten. Very likely his first heresy was similar to his second. At any rate the chroniclers of 1526 are quite incorrect in speaking of the sect as Lutheran, but the term had come to be applied to all who held heterodox views. After his return from Wittenberg Loy continued to spread his doctrines and soon drew the attention of the rulers of the town to himself and his adherents.

Their prosecution is remarkable for the fact that it was conducted by Commissioners sent by the Council of Brabant, supported by Nicolas Coppin, one of the Inquisitors who had succeeded Van der Hulst, and by Ruward Tapper, a Louvain Doctor of Theology, who later became an Inquisitor. The accused were sentenced by this Court to make public penance for holding heretical views and probably for reading forbidden books.[1] A platform was erected in the Market Place, and the Chancellor and the Councillors of Brabant, the Schout, the Burgomasters, and the other Magistrates took their places upon it on the 26th of February, 1526, and thereupon the Dean of the Chapter preached a sermon. While he yet preached ten persons —two of whom were women—were led forth, one of them bearing a torch, and the others candles. Their appearance was the signal for a great clamour among the spectators and the preacher was compelled to cease speaking. The Armed Guilds in their harness had been drawn up in line from the Town House across the Market Place to the corner of Roasters' Street, and the other Guilds were in their Chambers prepared for any emergency.

The uproar was not enough to prevent a second procession moving from the Church of Our Lady to the Market Place carrying the Holy Sacrament, while the great bell tolled. When this procession had come on to the Market Place, jackets were placed on the penitents on which were drawn pictures of certain sacred objects and also of Luther surrounded by devils and by his own books. From the Market Place the penitents followed the Holy Sacrament to the Great Church in procession. Thence they were taken back to the Town House and their jackets were taken off them, but the books found in their possession were burnt. These persons are described as a bookbinder and his servant; Peter Loy, the slater; Schoelant Jan; Formant's wife and her brother; the mistress of the *Tin Dish*; Rochus, the cloth-shearer; Master Peter Barbier; Rut, a stocking-maker. Joos Blanckaert

[1] Julius Frederichs, "De Secte de Loïsten."

was too ill to attend.[1] Sir Robert Wingfield adds to our knowledge of this incident by writing to Wolsey that one of these men was an Augustinian monk and that it was thought there were many " Lutherans " like them in the town and that it was likely such people would give trouble during the summer, especially in Germany.[2]

From the accounts given of this incident we can gather that Loy was not the leader of the sect, that whatever their heresy was they were regarded and punished as Lutherans and that they were treated with great leniency. This leniency may perhaps have been due to fear of what the people might do if severe punishment or death was meted out to them, for it is clear that they had many sympathizers in the town, but it certainly was not due to any idea that their offence was of slight importance. No doubt the people resented the sending of the Commissioners to deprive the accused of their natural judges, and henceforth the Vierschare tried almost all such cases and the Magistrates, knowing well the temper of the people, did not risk a recurrence of clamour in a more serious form. Indeed the Magistrates had little inclination to oppress anyone living in the town, so long as order was maintained. After this episode we hear no more of Loy for seventeen years.

In the summer of 1526 there was a rumour in Germany that Charles had given instructions to Margaret of Austria to deal less hardly with the heretics throughout the Netherlands; for in the rest of the country they had not fared so well as the Antwerpers had done, protected as they had been by their Magistrates. During the next three years no heretic was executed in Antwerp and only a few were prosecuted or punished for their opinions, although a Placard of 1526 again ordained measures against them.

In 1528 Kerstian Boeye, a shop-keeper, was convicted of heresy and condemned to remain continually in the town and to hear Mass and a sermon on his knees in the Mother Church on a spot assigned to him, holding a candle in his hand, on every Sunday and on certain Feast Days until the following Low Sunday. When the Peasants' War came to an end, the fear of a popular rising in Antwerp diminished. On several occasions—even while the Pope was the Emperor's prisoner after the Sack of Rome—processions were ordered to supplicate for peace among Christian Princes in order that they might unite in extirpating heresy and that men's hearts might be turned back to the Catholic Faith.

But the preacher and the printer were not idle. In the autumn of 1526 there were two men in Antwerp who had printed Tyndale's translation of the Bible, and Wolsey instructed John Hackett, the English Ambassador, to induce the Regent to

[1] " Chronyk van Antwerpen." [2] Brewer, IV, Part I, No. 2005.

prohibit its being printed, bought or sold. From the correspondence on the subject we can see the great care the Magistrates took to preserve the privileges of the town. They examined the printers but for some time declined to punish them or to burn their books until they were translated into Latin or the Netherland language, so that they could themselves form an opinion as to their being heretical. Hackett was anxious that the first execution in respect of printing English books should take place in Antwerp, which he regarded as the fountain of such productions. Eventually two printers were seized and put on trial, but the Magistrates insisted that the Schout must be in a position to point out to the court some particular heresy in the work. One only of the two printers—Chr. Endhowen—was found guilty, but we hear of no sentence or punishment assigned. In truth the Schout was in doubt as to what part of the contents of the books was in fact heretical.

Books printed in the town were spread far and wide. They were on sale at the fair at Bergen-op-Zoom and in London, and even found their way into the hands of the Queen of Hungary in the far corner of Europe. There were numbers of secret printing-presses, and from them issued translations of the Bible and Lutheran books in great number; in 1528 both Luther's and Melanchthon's books were openly on sale at Antwerp Fair. Wolsey seems to have regarded it as his duty to his Church to hunt down by his emissaries all English books of this kind printed in Antwerp and their printers.

In July 1528 Hackett persuaded Margaret of Austria to search for Tyndale and other heretics who were somewhere in the Netherlands, and in the same month at his suit a man named Richard Harman and his wife were arrested by the Schout at Antwerp for selling English versions of the New Testament to an English merchant and for harbouring Lutherans, and also an English priest named Sir R—— Akersten, from St. Botolph's in London. It is strange to see the English Ambassador trumping up a charge of treason against Harman so that he might secure his extradition as a traitor under the terms of the Treaty of Intercursus of 1506, which did not, of course, provide for the extradition of heretics.

Margaret's Privy Council, being appealed to, said that Hackett must get particulars of the charge against Harman within three weeks or he would be released. A charge of treason was therefore made against him and Akersten, but Margaret was very chary about giving them up, not doubting that their crime was really heresy and fearing to violate the privileges of the town of Antwerp. The Magistrates as well as the citizens of Antwerp were strongly opposed to surrendering Harman as he was a poorter of the town, and so had a right to answer for all offences before the Vierschare. The Magistrates refused to deliver up

even Akersten, although he was not a poorter, until they had themselves inquired into the case against him. Sir John Style, the Governor of the English merchants at Antwerp, and an Observant monk named John West zealously assisted Hackett in tracking down English refugees in the Netherlands.

Wolsey delayed six months in sending instructions as to the charges against Harman and Akersten, with the result that Harman was released, who in his turn had Hackett arrested at Antwerp for the cost of the imprisonment which he had been forced to undergo. For permitting this the Amman and Magistrates of Antwerp were rebuked by Margaret and the Council. Nor did Wolsey supply Hackett with money enough to pay the cost of Akersten's imprisonment, which was a condition precedent to his extradition being allowed, and he was not in a position to give such presents to the Schout and Under-Schout as they expected for their share in the affair. However, these two officials did all they could to carry out Henry's wishes, but they were opposed by the Burgomasters and Skepyns, who were anxious to preserve the privileges of the poorters.[1]

In October 1529 a very severe Placard was published against heretics. Luther's doctrines had spread in an astonishing manner during the years in which the adherents to them had been little molested in Antwerp. The Treaty of Cambrai enabled Charles to turn towards the suppression of all heresy by force, and he was then only just in time to deal with the first fruits of the pernicious teaching of the Anabaptists. From this year the Placards grew more severe and prosecutions more numerous, but it was only after Münster had fallen into the hands of the wild followers of John of Leyden that the Magistrates again felt compelled to put a man to death for his faith.

[1] Brewer, IV, Parts II and III.

CHAPTER VIII

ANTWERP'S COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND THE MONEY BUSINESS DONE IN THE TOWN DURING MARGARET'S REGENCY

Commerce

WE cannot measure with any accuracy the progress made by the trade of Antwerp during the two Regencies of Margaret of Austria. The foundation of the town's prosperity had been laid on the decline of the Flemish towns, and the speed of its advance in the first three decades of the sixteenth century was mainly due to peaceful relations with England and the establishment in the town of the spice trade. Wars interrupted intercourse with other countries, but so long-lasting was the peace between the subjects of Habsburg and Tudor that in future the latter came to regard Antwerp as the natural and proper staple on the Continent to which to send their wares.

No sooner was Margaret appointed Vice-Regent than she took all necessary steps to throw the Malus Intercursus into oblivion; and to induce the English to bring their ships up the Scheldt.

The basis of the new treaty (1507), so far as it concerned Antwerp, was that English merchants going up to Antwerp should be freed from Zeland and Hont tolls and that Netherland merchants should pay in English ports only the custom-dues fixed by the Magnus Intercursus.

The English Merchants

English merchants had absented themselves from Antwerp since 1505, in which year disputes had arisen, and the estrangement endured until 1509, when an Accord was signed between the town and the merchants which brought them back again. The day before the Accord was signed, Spinelli, the newly appointed English Ambassador, wrote from the Netherlands to Henry VIII, who had just ascended the throne, reporting that agents of the King of Scots were buying artillery in Antwerp (which it was said would be used against England), and urging

that the English should return to the town lest the Scots should oust them from it.[1] There was not room for both English and Scots in the town, and Spinelli knew the importance of being able to buy war material there—if possible with the concurrence and assistance of the Regent—and of being able to pick up news which would be of service to the English Government. We find Spinelli himself entering into a contract (1510) with Hans Popenruyter, the great gun-founder of Mechlin, for delivery of pieces of artillery, and the Emperor giving his consent—indeed Margaret promised that they should be as cheap as if they were for Charles himself and cheaper than the King of Scots could get them.[2] The Regent went even further than this in her efforts to please the English King—needing his help against France—and hindered the King of Scots as much as she could when he bought and tried to take away such war material. Two years later we find a record of payment for forty-eight pieces of artillery made by Popenruyter for the English Crown, and from this time onward English armourers were purchasing cannon, "stuff to make harness," saltpetre and such like munitions.

In 1505 the English Sovereign had enlarged the Charter which four years before had given the Merchant Adventurers the monopoly of exporting woollen manufacturers to Calais or such ports in the Netherlands as might at the time be in amity with England.[3] As yet it was the custom of the Adventurers to reside in England and to proceed to the staple town at fair-time, when the Company's fleet sailed from London. Only the Governor of the Company lived permanently in the English House, in Wool Street. But in time there came a change and a large colony of English merchants—the English "Nation," as they were called—dwelt in Antwerp. The Tudors never lost sight of their duty to cherish English trade and they had the satisfaction of seeing the export of English merchandise pass from the hands of foreigners to those of Englishmen. Difficulties were many, for there was constant friction with the Netherland Government, who adopted a protective policy with regard to English cloth, but those Flemings who were still engaged in this industry had the mortification of seeing the whole manufacture of the finer cloths pass from their towns to those in England. This change took many years to accomplish.

The question of tolls to be paid going into Brabant was one never at rest, and at the end of Charles's minority the people of Bruges hoped that the English merchants might be tempted back to their town by some exemption from such demands. Bruges was at that time in an impoverished condition and Antwerp was, to quote an Englishman, "one of the flowers of

[1] Brewer, I, No. 216.
[2] Te Lintum, p. 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 922 and other letters.

the world." All attempts to entice the English from Brabant were met by some concordat made by the Antwerpers with the merchants, or the confirmation of old privileges. After the ending of the minority there was little talk of a return to Bruges and perhaps Henry's dealings on the money market at Antwerp, after the French victory at Marignano, had confirmed the importance of the town in the eyes of the English, and determined them not to leave it again. Part of the Treaty agreed on by the Commissioners who sat at Bruges in 1515 to consider the grievances of the English merchants relating to the infraction of the Treaty of 1506, provided that the English merchants should not pay Zeland toll or Hont toll or any toll except that mentioned in the privileges. However, this agreement was not effectual and the English merchants continued to find fault with the way they were treated; so that in a few months they were complaining that the duties at Antwerp had been doubled and that they were not allowed to convey their goods from Antwerp in ships belonging to any other town, and also that they were improperly compelled to pay duties on merchandise which should be free.[1] Articles of commercial intercourse between the English merchants and the town of Antwerp, dated the 1st of June, 1518, set these matters at rest.

There was at this time an English statute forbidding the exportation of gold and silver, by which it was intended to compel all persons to take their property abroad in English manufactures; but soon after the accession of Henry VIII it was often avoided and much English gold began to find its way to Antwerp.

The result of Charles's visit to England on his first return from Spain was a Commercial Treaty (11th of April, 1520) with Henry restoring to the subjects of each the liberty of commerce granted them by Magnus Intercursus and providing that English merchants trading at Antwerp should not pay the Zeland toll and making other provisions calculated to restore and preserve security of commerce between the two countries.

At the time of the outbreak of war between Charles and Francis (1521) it was essential to the former that there should be peace between him and England so that when the time came for him to journey to Spain he could be helped down Channel by English ships. In their turn this amity bore some fresh fruit to the English when (September 1522) Sir Robert Wingfield proceeded to Antwerp and induced Margaret to promise to break off trade with the Scots should they at any time enter into hostilities with England.[2] Each English emissary to Antwerp was instructed to send home what news he could glean in this, the best-informed town in the world. Thus a missive of 1522 tells us what was then the news on the Bourse—(1) from

[1] Brewer, II, Part I, No. 2738. [2] Brewer, III, Part II, No. 2575.

Venice, that the Turk had withdrawn from Rhodes; (2) that the Hungarians were strong on the Turkish frontier and had repulsed the Turks several times; (3) from Denmark, news of a victory over the French at sea by the Easterlings; (4) no news of the Pope save that he had left Genoa.[1] It was thus that the world's news found its way to London.

At the time when a revolt was feared at Antwerp in conjunction with the rising of the German peasants, France and England entered into a Treaty (30th of August, 1525). From the end of the minority until that moment the political situation, together with various Accords made between the town of Antwerp and the English merchants (notably that of 1st of June, 1518), had warded off all disputes, but for the next few years Henry's policy ranged England against Charles, and it seemed as if commercial relations might be broken off at any moment. Charles was becoming too strong and his victory at Pavia was responsible for this change of policy. Henry declined joining the League of Cognac, but the Sack of Rome (1527) and further Imperial successes in Italy made him more hostile and drove him into the Treaty of Amiens with Francis (18th of August, 1527). This Treaty was followed by the arrest of the Emperor's ships in England and expulsion of foreigners, while Margaret made reprisals.

In September 1527 English cloth was shut out of the Netherlands and in May 1528 a duty was put upon wool. Wolsey tried to persuade the English merchants to resort to Calais, instead of the Netherland towns, and on the 13th of July, 1527, a proclamation was made by the Mayor of Calais that English and foreign merchants might resort to and trade at Calais, paying only the tolls usually paid by English subjects at the marts at Antwerp and elsewhere in the Low Countries, and guaranteeing privileges similar to those enjoyed at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and promising that the Governor and fellowship of the Merchant Adventurers should have the same jurisdiction in Calais and the Marches as they had in the Emperor's dominions.[2] The merchants told Wolsey they were unwilling to resort to Calais because it was " a town of war " and they would therefore not be allowed to come and go with freedom at all hours of the day and night, as was necessary for merchants in fair-time. Besides this the harbour was not able to receive the great hulks and carricks which went up the Scheldt to Antwerp. Some merchants, to please the Cardinal, brought their cloths to Calais, but they found the only way of disposing of them was to get friends to come to Calais and take them to Antwerp to be sold there, pretending they had purchased them at Calais. Thus they pleased the Cardinal and enabled the cloths (as property of Netherlanders) to pass into the country in spite of a prohibition

[1] Brewer, III, Part II, No. 2559. [2] Brewer, IV, Part II, No. 3262.

of cloth which Margaret had imposed by way of retaliation for the removal of the staple. This course made the merchants pay both the duty at Calais and the cost of carriage from Calais to Antwerp, so that they lost heavily.[1]

Both Netherland and English trade suffered for twelve months. The Merchant Adventurers in London would not buy cloth from the clothiers, who in their turn adopted so menacing an attitude that resumption of trade was forced on Wolsey. On their part the Antwerpers said they would be ruined if the English did not come back to the town, as there could be no Mart without them, and when there was no Mart the ships and wagons were useless and all artificers, innkeepers, and brokers "might sleep," and so all would be misery. There was at the time great scarcity in England and the people missed the ships which brought grain, herrings, and other food from Flanders. No actual hostilities took place, and a truce was published at Antwerp which provided that on an outbreak of hostilities notice should be given to merchants and they should have time in which to depart.

The truce was hardly entered on when the sweating sickness appeared in England, finding its way to Antwerp later. The scarcity in England during the early part of 1528 can hardly be exaggerated and every wheat-ship from the Netherlands was of importance. In April Margaret arrested five or six ships at Amsterdam and Antwerp laden with wheat and rye, which Joachim Hochstetter was sending to England, at the suit of a merchant who had a claim against him. Wolsey urged the need of corn and other victuals in England and Margaret released the ships.[2] The Treaty of Hampton Court (15th of June, 1528) ensured peace and re-affirmed existing commercial treaties between the two countries.

Thus commercial intercourse with England was restored to the Netherlands at large, but even now Antwerp did not become the sole settling-place of the Merchant Adventurers. Henry and Wolsey wished them to withdraw from the town at the August Mart of 1528 and to go to Bergen-op-Zoom instead, but they had sailed for Antwerp before pressure could be brought to bear upon them. As it turned out the August Mart was very slack and their cloth, tin, and lead were left unsold, so that they fell in with Wolsey's plan, when it was put before them by Sir John Stile, the Governor of the Company, and they went on to the Mart at Bergen-op-Zoom when it opened after All Hallows.[3] The Antwerp Mart at the Christmas following was so successful that all was changed. On the 14th of January, 1529, Sir Robert Wingfield writes to Brian Tuke that the English merchants at Antwerp "are marvellously well treated," and have sold their cloths better at the last mart than in times past and that

[1] Hall's Chronicle, p. 729.
[2] Brewer, IV, Part II, No. 4147.
[3] *Ibid.*, Part II, No. 4638.

they have liberty to buy all manner of merchandise at their pleasure.[1]

We leave them trading peacefully at Antwerp until the end of Margaret's Regency.

The Hansa Merchants

Hand in hand with the decline of Bruges went that of the Hansa. Hundreds of Hansa ships had in earlier days plied annually between Bruges and the Baltic, but when the fifteenth century came to an end the trade had almost entirely fallen into the hands of the Hollanders and Zelanders. The departure of merchants from Bruges and the silting of the Zwyn compelled captains of ships to leave Sluis and seek another port, so that each year more of them repaired to Antwerp. They brought grain, timber, flax, and other northern produce from Denmark, Sweden, Osterland, Livonia, Poland and the rest of the Baltic, returning with spices, drugs, dried fruits, salt and other produce which reached Antwerp from the South. The Hansa merchants had possessed a factory in Antwerp since 1468, when they were given the house called the *Hermitage* (de Cluyse) in the Corn Market and a sum of money to make it livable, but few of them had settled in the town, preferring to make Bruges their home.

However, the condition of that town in the beginning of the sixteenth century pointed to their departure, and they had several grievances to complain of with regard to breaches of their privileges. They complained that the Flemings allowed cloths of Poperinghe and Tourcoing to be put on the Antwerp market and to be sent to the Baltic towns without going through their hands in accordance with their privileges.

On several occasions the matter of their removal to Antwerp was raised at the Diets of the League, but they were loath to depart from Bruges—seemingly because they regarded Antwerp as a town much disturbed by turbulent youths and because they enjoyed valuable privileges at Bruges.[2] At all events it was only in 1545 that they moved to Antwerp.

Denmark and the Baltic

In 1510 there was war between Christian of Denmark and the Hansa, and the former invited the Netherlanders to use the Sound. This gave offence to the Hansa, so that they did great injury to Netherland shipping. The people of Lübeck looked with great suspicion on the alliance between Charles and Christian foreshadowed by the latter's marriage with Isabella, Charles's sister,

[1] Brewer, IV, Part III, No. 5171.

[2] Altmeyer, "Des causes de la décadence du Comptoir Hanséatique de Bruges et de sa translation à Anvers au XVI^e siècle," Trésor National, Brussels, 1843.

and on the news of it they seized two hundred Netherland ships laden with cereals, and drove trade from the Baltic. This caused a huge rise in the price of grain, and it became necessary to prohibit exportation of cereals and to order an inquiry into how much grain was in private granaries. Christian, however, did not receive the dower promised him by Charles and in consequence closed the Sound in 1518, and he kept it closed for several months, thus causing great loss to Antwerp traders and no little privation through lack of grain. After the treaty (22nd of February, 1519) which allayed his dispute with Charles for a time, Christian adopted a policy favourable to Netherland commerce. We have seen Christian at Antwerp at the time of Dürer's visit, when he tried to obtain Charles's assistance against his uncle Frederick of Holstein and the Hansa towns. Charles did nothing for him and his disappointment led to a reversal of his policy and he again closed the Sound to Netherland shipping. In 1523 his subjects deposed Christian, putting his uncle Frederick of Holstein on the throne, and Christian took refuge in the Netherlands. Frederick, in order to secure the goodwill of Charles, granted the Netherlanders permission to trade freely in his lands, but in the next year (1524) Christian began to prepare a fleet in Zeland, with which he hoped to recover his kingdom, and Frederick closed the Sound. A truce was made, but in the future any such preparations by Christian were answered in the same way.

The closing of the Sound meant not only scarcity of food for the inhabitants of Antwerp, but also stoppage of trade with the foreign merchants who came to the town to obtain the merchandise brought from the Baltic.[1] For a long time the Brabanters had traded direct with North Russia, and in 1524 an Ambassador from the " Prince of Muscovy " came to Antwerp in state.[2]

German Merchants

Such produce of the North as was required by Upper Germany had always been brought through the Hansa towns or else through Bruges or Antwerp. Since the discovery of the sea-route to India had deposed the Italian towns from their position as entrepots for Eastern produce, spices came by way of Lisbon to Antwerp, and great quantities of them were sent to Germany. Wagons rolled daily along the road which crossed the Meuse at Maastricht and barges ascended the waterways. The trade with Germany was rarely interrupted during Charles's reign, but sometimes the men of Guelders, revolted peasants or highway-robbers, fell on travelling merchants, holding them to ransom

[1] Altmeyer, " Histoire des Relations Commerciales et Diplomatiques des Pays-Bas avec le Nord," etc., and Henne, III.

[2] " Chronyk van Antwerpen."

and stealing their goods. Such a case occurred in the first days of April 1511, when eighty-nine merchants of Antwerp and Mechlin were captured near Cologne by horsemen under the Bastard of Guelders and compelled to pay a sum of 100,000 florins by way of ransom. They were on their way to Frankfort. Two or three of them were killed and some were wounded. The business of carrying by wagon was in the hands of the traders of Hesse. Copper, fustians, and Rhine wine seem to have been the chief articles imported from Germany at this time. The German merchants who became most famous in Antwerp were the great houses of Fugger, Welser, and Hochstetter. Most of the German firms had laid the foundations of their wealth during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth by trade carried on with Venice during the days of the old overland route to India, and by mining speculations in Tyrol, Hungary, and Bohemia.[1]

When the eastern produce began to come to Antwerp one firm after another settled in the town. The Fuggers of Augsburg (pronounced Focker) first set up a factory in 1508, buying a warehouse in the Stonecutters' Rampart. Their merchandise consisted mainly of pepper, copper, and silver. They rebuilt the house a few years later and the new one was much admired by Dürer. We have already seen how in 1505 the firm took part in the great spice-venture set on foot by the German and Italian merchants. After that they continued bringing to Antwerp from Lisbon large quantities of spices purchased from the King of Portugal. There was great opportunity of speculating in pepper, which was the most important of the spices commercially. Syndicates were formed to purchase cargoes as they arrived at Lisbon and all manner of "cornering" the products and manipulating the market at Antwerp followed. The copper business was almost entirely in the hands of the Fuggers.

Venice had been the market for copper until the beginning of the sixteenth century, but Antwerp had now taken her place. The members of the great houses formed partnerships and were as a rule closely related to each other.

Ludwig Meuting of Augsburg seems to have been the first German merchant to trade at Antwerp, but George Meuting was the most important member of the family. The Welsers—also from Augsburg—were chiefly concerned in commerce in early days rather than in the banking business, and took a large share in the Lisbon spice-trade. They bought their house in Antwerp in 1509—the *Golden Rose*, where the Post Office now stands in the Place Verte—but they had done business in Antwerp for some years before that date. Certain members of the family split off in 1517 and set up in Nuremberg, but this branch also bought

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I.

a house in Antwerp—in the present Street of the Recollets or Franciscans.

The Hochstetters of Augsburg were among the first Germans to settle in Antwerp. In 1486 they bought a piece of ground in the Kipdorp and built on it. They also embarked on the spice-business with Lisbon. The chief branch of the firm was in Antwerp and either Ambrosius Hochstetter or some other member of the family was always resident there. Ambrosius had a very bad reputation, it being considered that he made " corners " in merchandise and raised prices to an unwarrantable degree. In addition other things were said against him. In April 1527 Joachim Hochstetter, a son of Ambrosius, obtained a licence for ten years from the English Government to import and export merchandise to England, and during the great scarcity which soon followed he imported great quantities of wheat. In 1528 the firm experienced a financial crisis and eventually it failed. Other German firms with branches at Antwerp at this time were Herwart, Manlich, Adler, all of Augsburg.

The Portuguese

The two great streams of commerce which flooded the quays of Antwerp were formed by the cloths from England and the eastern produce from Lisbon. From Lisbon to Antwerp was a ten-day voyage if the winds were not contrary. Sea-borne eastern merchandise was at first sold at very low prices at Antwerp, but in a short time the price of some of it—such as pepper—rose to a great height through the speculating and manipulating done by the merchants, although the quantities brought to Antwerp were much larger than before. Sometimes the Magistrates had to prevent " doctoring " of pepper, ginger and other spices.

In 1511 the Magistrates gave the Portuguese Nation their fine house in the Kipdorp. In addition to eastern produce they imported at this time wine, wax, grain, figs, raisins, honey, dates, and salt. They chose to come to Antwerp because they found a free market and usually plenty of money. Bertrijn speaks of the arrival of a Spanish and Portuguese fleet of quite fifty sail at Antwerp in 1525. So important was the pepper-trade that the price of pepper had a great effect on other markets. It is interesting to notice that the spices used at table in 1537 were sugar, saffron, ginger, cinnamon, mace, pepper, cloves, olives, capers, and oranges. Through a privilege granted by the Magistrates the factor of the King of Portugal had jurisdiction in civil causes between Portuguese merchants, but an appeal lay to the Burgomaster and skepyns. If no appeal was entered the Amman put in execution, just as if the judgment had been pronounced by the Magistrates.[1] Many Portuguese acquired magnificent houses

[1] Génard, II, 296.

and their wealth increased rapidly. Guicciardini gives an interesting and comprehensive list of the merchandise imported and exported between Antwerp and foreign countries, but it describes a period rather later than this, for his residence in the Netherlands began only in 1542, and so he speaks of the commerce under Mary of Hungary and Philip, rather than of that under Margaret of Austria. Therefore his list of the merchandise coming and going up the Scheldt must be given in a later chapter.

Trade with Spain

In considering Antwerp's trade with Spain it must be remembered that Charles, at the desire of his Castilian subjects, gave them the monopoly of trading with the New World and that all the treasures of the West flowed through Seville. The Netherlanders were thus put at a disadvantage with regard to their fellow-subjects. The Antwerpers had another grievance against Charles in that the Government succeeded in persuading many Spanish merchants to remain at Bruges long after the others had moved to their town, which meant that much Spanish wool went to the Flemish looms without any profit going to them. Of the few Spaniards who settled in Antwerp before the middle of the century the best known were Antonio and Francisco de Vaille (1498), Diego de Haro (1503), Fernando de Berney (1509), and Lopez Gallo. At the beginning of Margaret's Regency the Spaniards brought to Antwerp only dried fruits, sugar, oil, wine, liquorice, wax, minerals, skins, and horses, but at a later date the products of the New World vastly swelled their trade and Spain found herself on a great trade-route for the first time.

The Flanders Galleys

The coming of the Flanders Galleys from Venice was an event much looked for. The fleet sailed under the auspices of the Doge and Senate, touching—when absence of war allowed it—at various ports in Italy, Sicily, Morocco, Spain, Portugal, and making for either Camber (before Rye) or the Downs.[1] There they separated, some going to Sandwich, Southampton, St. Catherine's Point, or London, while the others went to Sluis, Middleburg, or Antwerp.

As the eastern trade passed more and more into the hands of the Portuguese the visits of these ships became less important, but each of the Netherland ports still tried to entice them to her. When Margaret took up the Regency it had become usual for the fleet to go to Antwerp instead of Sluis, much to the regret of the inhabitants of Bruges, and in 1508 we find two large galleys arriving from Venice. However, in this year the League of

[1] Rawdon Brown, Introduction, p. lxiv.

THE NEW BOURSE OF 1531, PEOPLED BY FIGURES IN COSTUMES OF A LATER PERIOD

Cambrai was formed against Venice and no galleys came north for nine years, for they could not hope to escape falling into French or Spanish hands. No doubt this interval allowed the eastern trade to take firm root in Lisbon. Efforts were made by the Senate to send the fleet as usual, but the merchants would not accept the risk. When the fleet did not sail and there was no war with the Emperor it had been customary for the Venetians to send the merchandise by land to the north, but this was only done at great cost, and the Portuguese, who were not involved in war, could bring the same wares by sea all the way and undersell their rivals.

When Charles ascended the Spanish throne and entered into treaties with France and England, Venice found the fleet could sail in safety, and two great galleys, bearing costly wares from the East and from Italy, arrived at Antwerp on the 22nd of June, 1518, and six days later some thirty other large merchant ships appeared. The two galleys belonged to the Flanders fleet which had reached Southampton on the 19th of May. The fleet consisted of three galleys, only one of which unloaded its cargo at Southampton (much to the disappointment of Wolsey), while the other two went straight up the Scheldt. It was found that spices could not now be sold in England for as much as before owing to the competition of the Portuguese.

Unfortunately at Antwerp the Venetians were subjected to unwonted impositions under pretext of harbour dues, and they were much incensed. Another circumstance occurred to spoil the voyage for them. While they lay at Antwerp (16th of September) the Commander or Patroon of the fleet, Andrea Priuli, died, and he was buried in the Dominicans' Cloister with great solemnity. Besides spices and drugs of India the Venetians brought fruit from Palermo, dried prunes from Naples and Sicily, currants from Patras, dates from Messina, wine from Tyre, books both printed and in manuscript, glass, earthenware and many other things. Each galley carried a certain number of bowmen—young Venetian noblemen being included among them—and each merchant who sailed was bound to carry a crossbow and other arms, and all the crew were armed.[1]

Reports made by Gasparo Contarini to the Doge and Senate from London show that Venice had almost lost the spice trade by 1522, also that at that time there were no Venetian merchants resident in Antwerp, all of them being established in London. He remarks that Charles and Francis had fitted out ships to trade direct with the East and he hopes that so much competition will make it unprofitable for anyone to bring spices by sea, and

[1] "Chronyk van Antwerpen"; A. de Smet, "Die excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen," II; Rawdon Brown, "Calendar of State Papers, etc., of Venice," I and II.

that the trade may be restored to the Syrian route and fall once more to the Adriatic.[1]

During the war between Charles and Francis the French captured as many ships as they could on their way to Antwerp from the South. Antwerp trade suffered much in this way, for during part of the time the Peasants' War in Germany threatened to make the land-route to Italy equally impassable.

Italian Merchants

Among the merchants from other Italian towns were the Frescobaldi and the Gualterotti of Florence, Chigi of Siena, Affaitadi of Cremona, Bonvisi and Arnolfini of Lucca, the Spinoli, Grimaldi, Lomellini, and Centurioni of Genoa, and Milanese and Neapolitans. The Genoese were later comers than the others. Probably most of the countries with whom trade was done had a representative in the town. We have spoken of the six foreign "Nations," as they were called, (*a*) the Hansa and Danes, (*b*) the English, (*c*) the Germans, (*d*) the Portuguese, (*e*) the Spaniards, (*f*) the Italians.

French Merchants

When there was peace between Charles and Francis many French merchants came to Antwerp, but the Antwerpers relied very little upon them, for a warning from home sent them all hurrying over the frontier, while a report that French soldiers were over the border caused Margaret to seize them and their goods in Antwerp.

The Scotch

The Scotch had a staple in the Netherlands, but they did little at Antwerp.

Persia

In 1523 while she was at Antwerp Margaret received a Persian Ambassador sent by the Sofie Ismael.

Products and Manufactures of the Netherlands

Antwerp now greatly excelled all other towns in commerce, and most native manufactures and products were sent thither for exportation. The cloth-weaving industry in Flanders and Brabant had collapsed before English competition, but the looms were not yet silent and fine cloths continued to arrive in small

[1] Rawdon Brown, III, Nos. 441, 394, 612.

quantities from Flanders, while coarser cloths, made for the most part of Spanish wool, came in abundance from Lille, Arras, Valenciennes, Mons, Hondschote, Gand, Ypres, Armentières, Tournai, and the villages. The linen industry was made to take the place of the old cloth-weaving. A great quantity of cheap cloth was exported. Cloth of various qualities was made in the villages round Antwerp and brought into the town in great quantities.

At Antwerp was the great market for the gorgeous tapestries which attained their highest excellence under Margaret of Austria, the best coming from Brussels and Oudenarde. Wolsey, anxious to buy tapestry for his Hall, Chamber, and Gallery in 1517, was told that all the dealers would meet at the Whitsuntide Fair at Antwerp. The emissary entrusted with the purchase was to look out at the same time for tablecloths and serviettes and other linen of Netherland make. Wolsey was advised that he must be prepared to pay eight or nine gross sterling for the cheapest of the tapestry.[1] Most Netherland towns which sent much merchandise to Antwerp were in possession of a hall in the town and had a representative to look after their interests.

A full list of wares sent to Antwerp from the rest of the Netherlands during the Regency of Margaret of Austria is not obtainable and a few only can be mentioned. Zeland sent herrings salted and packed for exportation (an important merchandise in the days when Lent was fully observed); Holland sent hides; Liége coal, iron, marble and arms; Limburg iron and lead; Hainaut and Namur iron; Mechlin cannon and munitions of war; southern Brabant lime, white marble, coal; while musical instruments, stone, and beer came from several places. At the same time agriculture flourished and a multitude of beasts were raised including the famous horses so suitable for war.

Most of the shipping was in the hands of foreigners throughout the period of Margaret's Regency. The English carried to the North, the Portuguese, Spanish, and Italians to the South, while the Hollanders and Zelanders took longer voyages each year in all directions. These last were now showing promise of their future maritime exploits and each day their mercantile marine grew stronger.

The chroniclers speak of two Zeland ships which in 1508 returned to Veere—then the best harbour in Zeland—after a voyage to the Canaries, bringing cargoes of sugar, and it seems that these were the first Netherland ships to trade direct with the islands.[2] From Veere these ships proceeded up the Scheldt to Antwerp and offered the sugar on the market to the sugar-bakers for three groats the pound, but they could not get the

[1] Brewer, II, Part II, No. 3206.
[2] Reygersbergh, lvii, and other Chronicles.

price; therefore they kept the sugar for six months and sold it at Shrovetide, but even then they had to let it go for less than they had originally asked. Perhaps sugar was not yet enough in use for it to be in great demand.

Frequently the market was glutted by the sudden arrival of ships or waggons and merchandise was sold at ridiculous prices. In September 1516 there was so much Rhine wine at Antwerp (which was the staple for it in Brabant) that it cost only four or five stivers the pot.[1] In March 1529 the Spanish Fleet bringing fruit and oil came to Antwerp for the first time (so says the Chronicler), and in twenty-four hours the price of raisins fell from six or seven to half a stiver.[2]

Some efforts were made by Antwerpers to take part in the carrying trade, and Reygersbergh and the chroniclers tell us that about 1512 "those of Antwerp and of Dordrecht and several Zelanders" began to go to sea in great ships. The most venturesome of these was a certain Dierick van Paesschen, who had come from Cleves and settled in Antwerp. This man conceived the idea of sailing to Palestine (Jerusalem, as they said in those days), and he sent throughout the country a prospectus in Flemish, French, and Latin announcing the arrangements. The fare there and back was eighty Hungarian ducats and the ship was to stop for passengers (pilgrims they were sure to be, if not traders, for nothing else would take men so far from home) to visit St. James of Compostella and Rome. Dierick had built a magnificent three-masted ship and on the 11th of February, 1511, he dressed it with flags and entertained the Schout, Jan van Immerseel; the Amman, Gerard van der Werve; the Burgomaster, Gilles van Berchem, and several skepyns. He set sail about a fortnight later, and reached his destination in safety.

On the return journey some of the pilgrims returned overland from Rome, and the ship arrived in the Scheldt on the 24th of March, 1512.[3] The Magistrates and Military Guilds and many burghers came out to Calloo in barges to meet Dierick, and after the firing of salutes he was led to the Church of Our Lady, where a thanksgiving service was held. Afterwards he presented to the Magistrates a gift which he brought them from the Knights of Rhodes. A second voyage was equally successful.

On the 25th of April, 1515, he sailed for the third time, but he was only five or six leagues down the river when he ran aground. He had taken on board two large pieces of artillery as a present from the town to the Knights of Rhodes, which were rescued with certain merchandise and all the crew and passengers. A model of this ship had been made and it hung in the Town

[1] "Chronycke van Nederland," de Weert.

[2] "Chronyk van Antwerpen."

[3] Aug. Thys, "Le Navigateur Dierick Paesschen" in *Bull. Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers*, 1884. Also Bertrijn and "Chronyk van Antwerpen."

House until burnt in the Spanish Fury. After this he built a new ship—the largest yet seen at Antwerp—and sailed for Palestine with both pilgrims and merchandise. Pilgrims found their task made much easier for them by this luxurious method of travelling, but on this voyage they were in some danger. Dierick landed them safely at Jaffa, but they were then captured by the Turks. However, they were released on payment of ransom and made their way home through Rome and Venice. The ship reached Antwerp at the beginning of the next year. In 1521 the ship was wrecked off Yarmouth. Other Antwerpers soon followed this man's example, and a few years later, with the approval and assistance of Charles, they fitted out three ships to go to the Indies.

The Portuguese sought to prevent all other nations following this trade and endeavoured to capture the ships. So, too, the journey was one of great peril for those who were not at liberty to use the ladder of harbours which the Portuguese had established along the coast of Africa. On the voyage so many of the crews died that at length only enough remained to man two of the ships, and on the homeward journey one of these sprang a leak. The third ship reached home on the 21st of January, 1522, laden with spices and cloves from the islands of Molucca, Java, Malacca, etc., whence spices had not before been brought to Antwerp.[1] Not only had this ship been in peril of capture by the Portuguese, but also had been threatened by the French, for they were then at war with Charles and were seizing ships on their way along the coast. The voyage was too arduous to be repeated under these circumstances, but Antwerp sailors contrived to bring spices from the Isle of St. Thomas.

With so many foreigners coming and going it was of supreme importance that the rights and privileges of such persons should be maintained, and there are several instances of the watchfulness of the Magistrates on this point. When Maximilian put the inhabitants of Groningen under the Ban, a man named Hans van Sant, under cover of it, arrested the Burgomaster and some burghers of that town, for some purpose of his own, while they were travelling to Antwerp. The Magistrates (1509) hearing of the matter claimed that as merchants the privileges of Antwerp shielded them on their journey to the town, and taking them out of the custody of Hans van Sant, they brought them to Antwerp,[2] and there the matter remained. Thus they ever upheld their privileges. A few weeks after becoming Regent Margaret ordered that the cession of dues on the Hont, which had been made to the States by Philip the Fair, should be confirmed. Charles's Joyous Entry into Brabant declared that the right of exemption from toll should be established in future by

[1] "Chronyk van Antwerpen."
[2] Gachard, "Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche": Van der Bergh.

the production of a certificate to that effect without the attendance of the owner. When Charles needed money to carry him to Spain in 1517 he mortgaged to the town all his rights in the Public Weigh-Houses, in Riddertol and Jocktol for 40,000 florins.[1]

The Magistrates made many wise provisions for the maintenance of good order on the quays and in the markets. They ordained that no ship should remain more than two days at the quay, for the crane made it easy to unload the cargo in that time, and other ships would be waiting to take her place. The Bourse in Wool Street had become too small for the concourse resorting to it and the merchants rebuilt it in 1515 from plans by Dominic de Waghemakere.

Many improvements were made in the river-bank and in all ways the Magistrates furthered the interests of the town, supporting enterprise and making residence agreeable to strangers. The concourse of foreigners enriched such as let lodgings and warehouses, there was business for those who worked for commission, and many kinds of artisans and labourers found employment. The age of the capitalists had come and such men—almost all foreigners—fostered industry throughout the Netherlands and raised Antwerp to a pinnacle of prosperity. The wave of commercial enterprise swept so thoroughly over the population that many noble families resorted to Antwerp and endeavoured to repair their fortunes in business.

The Money Business

Although the "Finance" business carried on at Antwerp during the first thirty years of the century cannot be compared with that of a later period, yet an account of the earlier dealings of the great business houses and the details of some of the most important transactions seem necessary. The Fuggers lent money to Maximilian on many occasions before they set up a permanent branch of their business at Antwerp. The money which Maximilian had to produce in accordance with his undertakings in the League of Cambrai (1508) and the Holy League (1511) was supplied by the Fuggers,[2] and the Government of the Netherlands borrowed money to renew the dykes, to pay the soldiers in Guelders, and so on, from such men as Antonio de Vaille, Giacomo Doria, Jerome Frescobaldi, Diego de Haro.

In January 1512 the town of Antwerp took up 20,000 livres Flemish on behalf of the Government to pay the German lance-knights. This loan, which was for five months and ten days, cost 2,400 livres, and the broker was paid 100 livres for his

[1] E. van Bruyssel, "Histoire Politique de l'Escaut," pp. 61 and 62.

[2] The "Zeitalter der Fugger," by Dr. Richard Ehrenberg, is a work which is indispensable to the proper study of this branch of the subject and indeed of the history of Europe during the sixteenth century.

trouble. Maximilian declined to declare Charles of age in 1515 until a sum of 140,000 livres Flemish was promised him by the States. Charles then raised money in Antwerp to advance to Maximilian the money promised him and other money to defray the cost of his own journey to Spain. When the time for repayment came the loan had to be prolonged. We find the Government at this time borrowing from Fugger, Peter van der Straeten and other merchants at Antwerp, while the town gave itself as security for a portion of the sum. The first borrowing by the English Crown in Antwerp was in 1515. Henry VIII had been bequeathed a full treasury by his father, but it had been depleted by his wars in France.

In September 1515 the French victory at Marignano over the Duke of Milan gave Italy to Francis I, and Henry felt compelled to throw in his weight to restore the balance of power. French agents were busy in the Cantons of Switzerland trying to persuade the Swiss to retire from the war, and therefore a few weeks after the victory Richard Pace was sent to Innsbruck and Zurich to incite the Swiss to join in further hostilities against Francis, and to hire them for service with Maximilian, who was too poor to bear the cost himself. At the same time Henry took up 100,000 gold crowns in Antwerp and arranged with the Frescobaldi that it should be paid out to Pace at Augsburg.[1] All this had to be done with great secrecy, for Henry was anxious not to break peace with Francis, and even the English merchants at Antwerp were mystified as to what was going on by the rumours current in the town. When it became useless to deny they were taking up a great sum of money Henry and Wolsey made the excuse that it was borrowed to buy some of the rich jewels which were then to be bought cheap on the Continent, having been sold by needy princes.[2]

Pace discharged his mission so ably that the Swiss duly marched with Maximilian in the spring of 1516 against Milan. Frescobaldi, however, failed to pay the money at Augsburg at the appointed time, and the Swiss, in default of pay, threatened to leave the army, accusing the Frescobaldi of having been corrupted by the French. On this Wolsey arranged for further payments to be made to Pace at Augsburg by the Fuggers, English gold being sent to Antwerp to be paid by means of exchange. The Swiss, however, had lost confidence and Maximilian abandoned his campaign. The Fuggers endeavouring to retrieve the disaster occasioned by the failure of the Frescobaldi to adhere to their obligation, sent money to Maximilian in April, but the harm was already done.

In 1516 the Netherland Government borrowed £27,000 sterling for a year from Bernard Stecher, the Fuggers' factor, at

[1] Brewer, II, Part I, Introduction.
[2] Rawdon Brown, II, No. 671, etc.

about 11 per cent. per annum. At the end of the year payment was impossible owing to the expense of Charles's journey to Spain and the Guelders War, and it was prolonged as £30,000 sterling with interest to be paid on that sum. In February 1517 the town of Antwerp stood as security for a loan of 45,000 livres Flemish taken up by the Government from Antwerp merchants at something like 19 per cent. The town was getting itself into debt by pledging its credit on behalf of the Government, and from this state it never entirely recovered. Again in 1517 Henry borrowed money from the Frescobaldi at Antwerp, this time to pay his garrison at Tournai, but the firm was on its last legs and it failed in 1518, owing 300,000 ducats in London, one half of that sum being due to Henry.[1]

The interest paid in 1517 by the Netherland Government on money borrowed in Antwerp amounted altogether to 5,760 livres Flemish and the interest paid in 1518 was 3,767 livres Flemish, the debts incurred being almost entirely occasioned by the Guelders War.[2] The Frescobaldi were not the only firm who failed, and at that time and during the succeeding years many business men fled the town because they could not pay their debts. Two years before an English merchant took sanctuary in the precincts of Our Lady's Church for a debt of £35,000 Flemish of which the Merchants of the Staple stood to lose £12,000. In fact it was unsafe to trust bankers and merchants, especially those of Italy.[3]

Some months before his death—which occurred on the 12th of January, 1519—Maximilian had begun to prepare the way for the election of Charles as his successor to the Empire. The method of approaching the matter was to bribe the seven Electors freely. At Maximilian's death Charles found it necessary to begin all over again and he instructed Margaret to open negotiations with Wolff Haller, then the Fuggers' factor at Antwerp. The demands of the Electors were very large to begin with, but they increased enormously when Francis came in as competitor. Not even the Fuggers could supply all the money needed, and the Welsers, Filippo Gualterotti, and others had to be called in. The Fuggers gave their full support to Charles's candidature and refused to lend any money to Francis, but this example was not followed by all the firms, and Charles, fearing that even the Germans might assist his rival, gave injunctions to them on the subject. It was an anxious time for Margaret, but the financiers proved her good friends and Charles found himself elected in due course. At the time of the election Charles kept at hand a force large enough to add coercion to the inducements already offered—indeed, he left no stone unturned to complete his success. Henry never had a chance of being elected, but he

[1] Rawdon Brown, II, No. 1033.
[2] "Zeitalter der Fugger," II, 40.
[3] Brewer, II, Part I, No. 1384.

sent Pace to Antwerp in May (1519) to raise money from Filippo Gualterotti for similar bribery. Francis had to take up his money in Genoa and Lyons. The assistance Fugger gave Charles did not cease when he had won the Empire, for the successful conclusion of the wars of 1521–9 was in a great measure due to the timely loans he made.

In 1522 Charles borrowed 100,000 livres from the Spaniards Francisco de Vaille and Francisco de Moxica and other Antwerp firms—a loan which cost 7,494 livres and was in part guaranteed by the Counts of Nassau and Hoogstraeten. It is tedious to follow the loans, but each step in Charles's early career was made possible by the kind offices of the financiers of Augsburg, Antwerp, and Genoa—the taking of Tournai, the submission of Friesland, the victory of Pavia, the taking of Milan, the Sack of Rome, the Treaty of Cambrai, and finally his Coronation at Bologna. Spain gave him good assistance, but little came from Germany, and the resources of the New World were not yet developed. Francis had fewer and shallower fountains of wealth than the Emperor, but he could get what money he needed from his subjects without the previous consent of a Parliament, and so he could avoid the delay which often sent Charles borrowing while he awaited the tardy consent of deputies of some portion of his territories. Yet the sums lent to Charles and other sovereigns during the first thirty years of the century by the merchants were inconsiderable compared with those of later date. The largest sum the Netherland Government borrowed in Antwerp before 1530 was not more than 500,000 livres Artois of 40 gros or 357,000 florins of the Rhine.[1] At about the time of the Treaty of Cambrai the rate of interest which the Government had to pay in Antwerp varied between 14 and 22 per cent. The income of the Government was about 1,200,000 livres of 40 gros Flemish, and in the years 1521–30 they paid out of it some 45,500 livres per year on an average in interest and brokerage charges on the floating loans at Antwerp. The financial position of the Government was good and yet it could not always raise money at 20 per cent.

In 1522, while Charles was in England, a financial crisis arose. Money was sorely needed, for there was war with France, Guelders, and Friesland and a revolution in Spain, while the progress of Luther's doctrines seemed to promise an upheaval in Germany and the Netherlands. Charles wished to proceed to Spain and his fleet lay in readiness in Zeland, but he could pay neither the crews nor the German lance-knights whom he wished to take to Spain. The Count of Hoogstraeten, who was Chief of the Finances, and Jan Micault, the Receiver-General, went to Antwerp to try to raise money. They took with them rings and plate belonging to Charles and to Margaret, but the merchants

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," II, 45.

refused to lend, asserting there was no gold on the Bourse. As matters then stood Charles owed 300,000 to 400,000 livres in Antwerp, and the creditors feared ruin if not paid their interest when it fell due.[1] None but Erasmus Schetz, a Netherlander, would give way, but he lent 10,000 livres de gros on some plate and on some gold chains belonging to Hoogstraeten's wife, and for this he asked no interest. Hoogstraeten also sold some annuities on his own property to Schetz and the Count of Nassau likewise pledged his credit.[2]

Charles usually owed a lot of money in Germany as well as at Antwerp and there was always a fear that impatient creditors in that country might arrest Antwerp merchants in order to obtain repayment of loans which the town had guaranteed or to bring pressure to bear on those who could afford to re-fill Imperial pockets. It is remarkable that these great German firms, all of which had originally devoted their entire attention to commerce, little by little renounced it for the exchange and money-lending business. After 1512 the great firm of Welser almost entirely gave up their shipping business and opened out in a larger way as bankers. The financial and commercial transactions entered into at Antwerp seemed so vast that some persons thought that the great firms of capitalists ought to be abolished as being tyrannical and so constituted that they monopolized all business and profit.[3]

The Hochstetters were particularly hated, for they were considered to make a large profit out of the ignorance of the uninitiated. Nobles, burghers, peasants, serving-lads and maids entrusted to Ambrosius Hochstetter what small sums they could invest and he paid them 5 per cent. and put it into his business. The Augsburg Chronicler, Clemens Sender, becomes unnecessarily irate on the matter. Certainly Hochstetter by this means had a very large sum always in his hands which he could lend at a much higher rate than 5 per cent., but he provided an investment for the citizens which they might otherwise have had a difficulty in finding, and the investment was as safe as most others in those days, even though it must be admitted that the Hochstetters eventually failed. Perhaps they were more to blame for making " corners " in merchandise, for it was said they raised the price in all countries by their manipulations. At all events Ambrosius Hochstetter was very unpopular and his own partner brought accusations against him in 1517 about an account of profits, and the commercial world was against him. Also the loss of a ship under queer circumstances did not better his position. In 1528 the Government required money to pay the troops in Guelders and the Hochstetters undertook to lend 200,000 Carolus gulden. The transaction was carried through

[1] " Zeitalter der Fugger," I, p. 367.
[2] Rawdon Brown, III, No. 798.
[3] Henne, III, p. 265, etc.

by a Nuremberger named Lazarus Tucher, who played a prominent part in financial affairs at Antwerp in later days. By this time, however, the position of the firm of Hochstetter was declining and there was gossip at Antwerp, as well as at Lyons and Nuremberg, about their solvency, and the rumours caused a run. Every effort was made by their friends to save them, but they failed.

Marcus and Hans Herwart were another Augsburg firm who lent large sums to the Netherland Government. At the same time there was another firm in Antwerp formed from the same family, named Christoff Herwart und Gesellschaft, who likewise did business with the Brussels Court.

Hieronymus Seiler was a son-in-law of Bartholomew Welser and was at first in the Welsers' business and then in partnership with Alexius Grimel and Gaspar Ducci (or Dozzi), of whom we shall hear later.

The Manlich, the Adler, the Rem, the Haug of Augsburg were a few of many German firms engaged in finance business. The Medici had done banking and finance business at Bruges in its brightest days, but we hear no more of them in the Netherlands after Bruges had lost her position, and the two chief Florentine firms who moved to Antwerp were the Frescobaldi and the Gualterotti. Both had been engaged in the pepper business before 1504. Girolamo Frescobaldi bought a site in Antwerp in 1507. He and Filippo Gualterotti were the two conspicuous Florentine merchants in Antwerp, and, as we have seen, the Frescobaldi for some time enjoyed the confidence of Henry VIII. In 1518 the Frescobaldi failed, leaving Henry a heavy loser; their house on the Kipdorp was sold and a composition made with their creditors. The Gualterotti did not long survive Charles's election to the Empire, for Filippo Gualterotti died and in 1523 his son went into voluntary liquidation. Thus before the end of Margaret's Regency the great Florentine houses had ceased to exist. An Italian of importance and interest was Gaspar Ducci, who is first mentioned at Antwerp in 1517 as the agent of Jacopo Arnolfini, but his notoriety only arose at a later date.

Neither the Bonvisi, the Cenani, nor the Arnolfini (all of Lucca) did much in the money business at Antwerp, the last two preferring making loans to the French King at Lyons. Nor did the Affaitadi desert their commercial business. The Genoese did little business in Antwerp before 1530. Antonio de Vaille was one of the first Spaniards to found a business in Antwerp and he was followed by his countrymen Diego de Haro, Fernando de Bernuy and others. Antonio de Vaille bought a site in 1498 and on several occasions lent money to the Government. Diego de Haro and most of the Spaniards were ready when they could to lend money to Charles.

Peter van der Straeten was a Netherlander and was the first

Financial Agent mentioned as being appointed to represent the Government in Antwerp, and to take up loans on the Bourse. Probably the first of such loans was that of 1515. He was in high favour with Charles, who made him Imperial Councillor in 1519 and ennobled him 1521. Gerard Stercke was an Antwerper who did a considerable money business as agent for Charles and the Netherland Government at Antwerp.

Of all the Netherlanders the most successful was Erasmus Schetz of Maastricht, who had married Nicolas Rectergem's daughter. When his father-in-law died in 1515, he took over his business together with the fine house of Aachen which he had built. The business was no great affair at that date, but Schetz worked it up until it exceeded those of all his fellow-Netherlanders, although it never outstripped such foreign firms as Fugger and Welser. We have seen Schetz was the only merchant in Antwerp who would oblige the Emperor in 1522. He never advanced very large sums, but after 1530 he lent Charles much money.

In mediæval times it had become customary to pay money due for goods sold and to repay money borrowed at fair-time. Indeed business of every kind was of necessity transacted then. Even in the beginning of the sixteenth century there was little money to be found at Antwerp excepting at fair-time, for the cost and risk of transferring it from town to town was very great. For this reason it followed that as soon as negotiable instruments and methods facilitating exchange became simplified operations dealing with them were also conducted at fair-time. Of course the greater loans to Kings and Governments were often arranged independently of anything else. As the commerce of the town grew the size of the financial transactions increased until Antwerp and Lyons took the places of Augsburg and Genoa in the financial affairs of the great borrowers, and then commerce and finance took different roads. Lending money had been already a recognized practice when Bruges was the "Queen of the North," and gradually it became emancipated from the censure of the Church regarding usury, but some still feared such business might be contrary to the Christian teaching, and to soothe the consciences of such men money lent for a specified time was spoken of not as a loan, but as a deposit (depositum).

War had become more expensive than before, by reason of the cannon and trained soldiers required. Troops were carried great distances by sea, and the journey of a Prince from Zeland to Spain was expensive enough to exhaust a treasury. Such things placed Charles—and indeed other princes—in constant need of gold, and, as if by good fortune, it was during the period in which this necessity arose that a class of capitalists appeared, having fortunes made in trade with which they were willing and eager to supply the royal need. Charles always paid the interest

due, if not the capital, so that these lenders found good investments with him.

Storms and robbers made commercial enterprise a greater risk. We have seen that Henry VIII and the Netherland Government were borrowers of money at Antwerp, and to the list must be added Louis, King of Hungary, and his successor Ferdinand, and the King of Portugal,

CHAPTER IX

THE ANABAPTISTS

THE Emperor had no difficulty in choosing Margaret's successor as Regent of the Burgundian possessions. His sister Mary had married Louis, King of Hungary, and had been a widow since the disaster at Mohacz. She was now twenty-five years old, and in every way qualified to continue her aunt's work. Although there was little doubt that she had given ear to Luther's doctrines, Charles knew she was too good a Habsburg to allow herself to be blinded as to the path it would be her duty to take. At all events she had always contradicted any statement that she was unorthodox. Charles inaugurated her at Brussels in October 1531, there being then peace between himself, France, England, and Guelders, and during the next twelve years the people of Antwerp experienced nothing serious in the nature of war.

The Emperor's attitude towards heretics was, however, undergoing a change. In 1529 and 1531 Placards were launched against them of a severer nature than before. The former, issued (14th of October) on the advice of Margaret of Austria, and with the approval of the Knights of the Golden Fleece and of the Privy Council, forbade anyone to print, copy, buy, sell, or in any way deal with the works of Luther or other reformers, or to paint or possess any picture ridiculing God, the Virgin, or Saints, or to mutilate sacred pictures or effigies; or, unless a theologian of standing approved by a recognized University, to discuss Holy Scripture. Anyone acting contrary to the Placard was to be put to death—by fire if he had been previously convicted of a similar offence; otherwise by the sword. Women were to be buried alive. Whatever the sex of the culprit might be, his or her goods were to be confiscated. An amnesty was granted to those who by a certain date admitted the errors they had entertained and did penance. Innkeepers were forbidden to lodge heretics and must denounce such visitors under pain of death and confiscation. Half the goods confiscated went to the informer.[1]

Kerstian Boeye, who in 1528 had been sentenced to a penance,

[1] Henne, IV, p. 336.

showed but little gratitude for the moderation of his judges, and he was soon "speaking great blasphemy" against the Holy Sacrament, so that he was condemned to have a piece of his tongue cut off and to go on a pilgrimage to Nicosia in Cyprus, returning only with the leave of the Magistrates.[1] The sentence was carried out on the 4th of December, and it can hardly be called severe when such an edict was in existence.

This Placard was confirmed by that of the 7th of October, 1531, and there were a few executions in different parts of the country. At Antwerp an artisan named Joris was executed on the 6th of May, 1531—he had already been banished for his heretical opinions on pain of death, but he had returned;—and on the 3rd of May, 1533, two Lutherans, a carpenter named Jan Verschueren and an armourer named Bernaert Hoze or Hoese were beheaded on the Market Place at five o'clock in the morning for having preached near the Beguinage and elsewhere, and for having lent aid to Lutherans. These sentences were pronounced by the Vierschare and these seem to have been the first laymen to suffer death at Antwerp for their religious opinions since Luther began his agitation, and also to have been the last to die as martyrs there before the whole aspect of the Reformation was changed by the doings of the Anabaptists. On the same day as the last execution two others had the hair of their heads singed for like offences.[2] In July 1534 Wouter Verlinden, a bookseller, was prosecuted for having Lutheran books in his shop and others were treated in like manner for selling and keeping such literature.

In January 1535 Adriaen van den Berghen or Berchem, whose shop was at the Sign of the Golden Missal on the Brewers' Gate Bridge, was charged with selling heretical books and was imprisoned in the Steen. Such books were indeed found in his shop, but he said that an enemy had placed them there. He was banished.[3]

But the work of Luther had worked great changes in a generation. A letter written by William Lok to Henry VIII on the 20th of July, 1535, shows how Papal pardons and indulgences had fallen out of favour. In old days a chest for money used to be placed beneath a cross in the naves of the churches in which the pardons were sold. Now a picture was hung on the cross, instead of the chest beneath it, setting forth the Seven Works of mercy to show that these were the only pardons that brought souls to heaven.[4]

A word must be said about William Tyndale and his connexion with Antwerp. Having incurred the displeasure of Henry

[1] Personnes poursuivies, etc., "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VII.
[2] Bertrijn and "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," XIV.
[3] Frans Olthoff, "De Boekdrukkers, etc., in Antwerpen."
[4] Gairdner, VIII, No. 1071

VIII by the publication of his translation of the Bible, he took refuge on the Continent. We have seen that Wolsey's emissaries sought to capture him, and Cromwell, in his turn, set on Stephen Vaughan to watch him in the Netherlands. His Lutheranism induced Cromwell to regard him as a man likely to sow sedition among the people of England. His residence at Antwerp had commenced before May 1533, for on the 9th of that month he wrote of the two Lutherans who had been executed a few days before " for the glory of the Gospel."

The authorities were then making diligent search in Antwerp for English books at all the printers and book-binders, and for an English priest who intended to print such works.[1] Tyndale himself was arrested at Antwerp, his capture being due to a man named Henry Philips, who had been sent from England for the purpose. This man pretended friendship for Tyndale and took a lodging in the same house, but he delayed seizing him, fearing the wrath of the English merchants. In the end he went to Brussels and returned with the Procureur-General, whom he took to the house which he shared with Tyndale. He enticed Tyndale into the street by an invitation to dinner and signalled to the officers to arrest him when he appeared.[2] This was in July 1535 and the prisoner was conveyed to Vilvoorde Castle, where he was strangled and his body burnt in the following year.

If such a man as this was found worthy of death, what fate awaited the Anabaptists? The movement in which they engaged was at first entirely religious, but soon became political. They argued that no good Christian would be rich while others were poor, and that all things should be owned in common. Some of the most striking tenets of their doctrine were that secular authority had no right to interfere with religious faith, that persons should be baptized when they attained adolescence and not as infants, that villeinage ought to be abolished—beliefs among them varying widely. It was essentially a movement of the poorer artisan class.[3] Hundreds were put to death in Germany between 1525 and 1530. After the latter date the movement became more political than before and a new species of Anabaptism sprang up—notably in Strasburg under Melchior Hoffman—which taught that the world would come to an end in a short time and that the Millennium would then begin. From Strasburg these doctrines spread to the Netherlands. Up to this time the Anabaptists had adopted an attitude of non-resistance to authority, but now they became hostile, and in Holland—where the heresy took firmer root than elsewhere—a war against authority was preached.

On the 9th of February, 1534, the Anabaptists of Münster

[1] Gairdner, VI. No. 458. [2] Adrianus Hæmstedius, folio 84.
[3] Bax, " Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists."

made themselves masters of the town, having been joined by co-religionists from elsewhere, and John of Leyden became King of Zion. Anabaptists had been beheaded in Holland early in 1531 and in the following years. On the 31st of March, 1534, Hackett wrote to Cromwell from Brussels and said, in effect, that the Netherlands were in great danger from the Anabaptists on account of their advocating community of goods and disobedience to princes and prelates, and he gave it as his opinion that these mischievous doctrines had become so popular that the Government would experience difficulty in enlisting soldiers to fight against rebels. He added that the Regent had sent money to the Bishop of Münster to help him to recover his town, and that the Bishop of Liége said that the time which used to be occupied in church had come to be spent in taverns disputing as to the natural power of princes and prelates.[1] In April the Count of Hoogstraeten went to Holland and gave punishment to a great number of the sect, and all in Antwerp who desired the maintenance of the existing state of society hoped that similar measures would be taken there.

Many Anabaptists found their way to the town, but the first Ordinance actually framed against them was published by the Magistrates on the 25th of February 1535, with the concurrence of the Broad Council. All Anabaptists were ordered to leave the town before sun-down and to disappear from the Margraviate within twenty-four hours, under pain of burning for men and drowning for women, besides confiscation of goods.[2] None were to harbour them or even to give them work under pain of forfeiture of goods and perpetual banishment. Henceforth none were to preach in any place except the parish priests in their churches and the monks of the mendicant orders in their cloisters and where they were accustomed to preach. Anyone attending a forbidden meeting was to forfeit his chief garment.

But the first Anabaptist victim in Antwerp had already met his doom and prosecutions had been commenced against several others. One Jeronimus Pael had been arrested on the 5th of February, 1535, for preaching heresy in the streets. He refused to take food for four or five days, but this did not prevent his being beheaded on the 17th of the month; his body was burnt and his head put on a stake outside the town.[3]

The publication of the Ordinance was followed by a number of executions. On the 4th of March Matheus Sauvaige, a gunmaker from Lorraine, and Godevart van Holaer, a mason's lad of Mechlin, were beheaded. Before execution they confessed

[1] Gairdner, VII, No. 397.
[2] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," II; Personnes poursuivies judiciairement, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VII.
[3] "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert.

that they had been re-baptized, but this did not excuse their bodies from being burnt on the Market Place and their heads from being set on stakes.[1] A few days afterwards, on the Eve of the Feast of Our Lady, in Palm Week, four women Anabaptists were put into sacks and thrown into the river. One of them was the wife of the gunmaker of Lorraine; her sister, who was another of the four, was the wife of a sailor; the other two were the wives respectively of a carpenter and a peasant. The execution took place at six o'clock in the morning.[2]

These executions did little more than advertise the doctrines of the victims, and on the 11th of May the Anabaptists made a successful attempt to seize the Town House, but the citizens ran to arms, killing some and capturing many. Bertrijn says the captured leaders had their hearts torn out while yet alive, and that others were executed in various ways, while the women were either hanged or drowned, but some authors deny that this attempt on the Town House was ever made by the Anabaptists at Antwerp. At all events the Magistrates thought at this time, or pretended to think, that the Anabaptists were plotting to kill and rob the citizens.

On the 10th of June Charles issued a Placard specially directed against Anabaptists. It condemned them to be burnt alive if they persisted in their errors, but if they admitted their fault, men were only to be beheaded and women buried alive,[3] and on the 14th the Magistrates offered a reward of one hundred gold Philippus gulden for the capture of each person who was rebaptizing his fellows and fifty for each who had been so rebaptized. Also they offered fifty gold Philippus gulden for information about innkeepers and others who sheltered Anabaptists.[4]

We can see how terrified the authorities were by the new doctrines from an Act published by the Magistrates on behalf of the Regent on the 22nd of June—two days before Münster was recaptured by the Bishop, and the death-blow given to Anabaptism in its militant and active form. This Act extended pardon to all who had been banished from Antwerp, whether for sedition, uproar, heresy or anything else, on condition they brought Anabaptists to justice and execution.[5]

On the same day all schools were closed excepting those specially authorized. The crime of leaning towards Luther's doctrines seemed trifling in face of the rise of these revolutionaries, and it was against them that the Edicts were mainly aimed in future.

[1] "Chronyk van Antwerpen"; "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert; "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VII.

[2] "Chronycke van Antwerpen," 1843, "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert.

[3] Gachard, "Phil. Corr.," I, p. cvii.

[4] Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VII.

[5] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.

Only a few Lutherans were prosecuted in the following years, but many Anabaptists suffered during 1535. Numbers of women were drowned. Among the cases recorded is that of a chandler named Peeteren van Hesse, who owned the house named the Lily on the Kauwenberg. He was convicted of being connected with the Anabaptists, as well as with Lutherans and other heretics, yet he was only banished and sent on a pilgrimage. The wife of Janne the cork-cutter was charged with having been re-baptized, but she proved to be with child, so the Schout allowed her out on bail until her confinement was over. She rewarded his leniency by disappearing.[1]

On the 4th of July Walter Mersche wrote to Cromwell from Antwerp: "A great watch is kept, and strait search made, for doubt of them (the Anabaptists) and for fear of fire, as well here as elsewhere."[2] The Magistrates were well supplied with information as to the movements of those coming out of Münster, and after the fall of that city it seemed less likely that the Anabaptists would seize and hold a town in the Netherlands, as they had already attempted to do at Amsterdam and Antwerp; but the leaders of the movement—and especially those who had been executed after the fall of Münster—had become popular heroes. In February 1536 the Magistrates forbade the sale of all pictures and figures representing John of Leyden or his accomplices, and books containing the lives of all such heretics. Those who possessed such things were ordered to bring them to an officer to be destroyed.[3]

Some remarkable executions took place in May 1537. On the 19th four Anabaptists were executed. They had all been condemned to the fire and the sentence was carried out on three of them, but the fourth having recanted was beheaded. One of the three, a tinker, had become a father a little before the previous Christmas, but he had not caused the child to be baptized. Unfortunately the child died when six weeks old and the father, to hide his fault, buried him in the floor of his cellar.[4] This execution took place on a Saturday, which was market-day and so considered by the authorities to be a day particularly appropriate for such spectacles; and people had to wait only one week for another. Then two men were burnt alive on the Market Place. They called themselves bishops among the Anabaptists and they had baptized their followers. One of them was a renegade Dominican monk from Groningen.[5] A great number of those who preached and practised these doctrines in Antwerp had come thither from Holland—the original seat of Anabaptism in the Netherlands—hoping to escape notice in

[1] Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VII.
[2] Gairdner, VIII, No. 982.
[3] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[4] "Chronyk van Antwerpen."
[5] *Ibid.*

the crowded town, or else to make converts among the discontented always to be found there. Some chroniclers insist that they came with the object of setting fire to buildings and pillaging the houses of the rich, but one is led to think their wickedness was exaggerated in this respect, and that the quieter citizens suffered from fear unnecessarily.[1] Certainly the state of unrest made the outlook sufficiently disturbing. Many who were once known as Lutherans considered their sect to be dead—killed by the distrust in which people had learnt to hold all new doctrines.

It will be seen that most of the persons executed at Antwerp as Anabaptists were so treated in consequence of their doctrines concerning baptism. None of them seemed to have followed the example of their friends in Münster with regard to polygamy. As to community of goods it is difficult to speak. No doubt the purely doctrinal notions of the Lutherans had given place among heretics to the forcible arguments of those who were discontented with the rulers in both Church and State. Some assert that Anabaptism in its true sense, as understood at Münster, never reached Antwerp. The term "Anabaptist" came to be applied after the taking of Münster to anyone looked on with suspicion for his religious or political views, just in the same way as Luther had been regarded as mainly responsible for the Peasants' War in Germany ten years before.

Yet it was not until the appearance of Calvin's doctrines that a political revolution in the Netherlands broke out. The Regent's anxiety in this respect was not lessened by the disturbances at Ghent in 1539; and the marriage of Henry VIII—now turned Protestant—with Anne of Cleves was a direct menace to the Emperor, for the King seemed likely to join the Protestant League of Smalcald and support the Lutherans in Germany and the Netherlands against him.

In 1540 Charles came to the Netherlands and made an example of his rebellious Flemish subjects, coming to Antwerp in May. The fifth Placard was issued on the 4th of October, 1540. It confirmed those that had gone before and enjoined the rigorous execution of them, ordering the removal of all officials and magistrates who failed to prosecute heretics or who permitted the penalties to be relaxed. The beginning of the next year saw Charles's departure to complete his preparations for an expedition against Algiers. Soon came an outbreak of hostilities with France and Guelders, bringing Marten van Rossem to the gates of Antwerp. Whatever ground there may have been for fearing that the Anabaptists might accomplish some act of treachery in the town during these critical months, it was clearly not the time for any searching persecution on account of religious opinions.

[1] Bertrijn and Van Heyst, "Boek der Tyden."

Another class of unbelievers had also incurred some persecution. These were the Portuguese Jews. All who were not Christians had been banished from Portugal, and to avoid this fate many Jews had submitted to baptism without having the least intention of becoming Christians in anything more than in name. These came to be called the New Christians. Some of them had become leading merchants among the Portuguese resident at Antwerp, and at this time a great part of the Lisbon spice trade was in their hands.

The brothers Francis and Diego Mendez were such merchants, the former residing in Lisbon and the latter at Antwerp. Diego was in the habit of acquiring vast monopolies in Indian produce from the King of Portugal. The harm done by these monopolies was told to the Emperor, together with information that the Portuguese Jews took the fortunes they made in his dominions to other lands, when they retired from business and there relapsed into the Jewish faith. He determined to drive them from Antwerp. In 1530 he had appointed inquisitors to inquire into their conduct, and to ascertain whether they were guilty of continuing Jewish practices in secret. This appointment of extraordinary judges was opposed by the Magistrates.

In 1532 proceedings were commenced against Diego Mendez for *lèse-majesté* against God and the Emperor, and a Commissioner was sent by the Council of Brabant to try him. He claimed that Judaism was an offence against which there was no provision in the Joyous Entry. Bail was refused at the trial—a proceeding which his friends urged to be contrary to the privileges of the town in which he had been resident and in a large way of business for twenty years. The Magistrates claimed to be his proper judges. Mary of Hungary wished to remove the trial to Brussels and the Magistrates protested to Charles against the whole of the proceedings. Diego contended that he had lived as a good Christian during the whole of his residence in Antwerp. In August 1532 Charles issued a Placard forbidding the New Christians to come to the Netherlands without leave. In September Diego and his goods were released under caution-money of 50,000 ducats, his sureties being Erasmus Schetz and three other merchants resident at Antwerp.

Other Portuguese Jews were prosecuted at the same time in spite of protests made by the Magistrates, who, when the prisoners were taken out of Brabant, invoked the privileges guaranteed by the Golden Bull. Charles explained that he was prompted to take these steps by his zeal for the Catholic faith and to check certain irregularities which had manifested themselves among the trading community at Antwerp, but he could not set at rest the fear that foreign merchants might forsake the town if his inquisitorial methods were continued.[1]

[1] Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VII.

Prosecutions of the New Christians continued for some time in cases in which they had come to the country without licence, or had relapsed into the old faith. The latter was a difficult thing to prove, but it was regarded as strong evidence if they were seen eating meat on Christian fast-days or if they permitted singing, dancing, and playing on musical instruments in their houses on fast-days, or held Sabboth on Saturday. That they held Sabboth on Saturday was taken as certain if they wore fine linen and their best clothes and behaved then as Christians would do on Sunday. In 1536 Charles gave them leave to reside in his dominions without being prosecuted for anything they had done before the date of such licence given, and declared that in future they should not be taken out of Antwerp if arrested there for any offence committed in the town. This policy was not adhered to and two Placards forbade them and their families to reside in the Netherlands and ordered those already there to leave at once.

The Magistrates of Antwerp endeavoured to interest the Bishop of Arras in those Jews who lived as Christians and peaceably, but they admitted that among them were many who were fugitives from Portugal to avoid the Inquisition and transportation. After 1545 they came to Antwerp in even greater numbers.[1] Writing to the Senate about those Jews who were under arrest in 1540, Francesco Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador to the Emperor, expressed the opinion that they could not deny having lived as Jews, but that the real object of the prosecutions was to get money out of them, and said that it was believed that 100,000 crowns would thus be obtained.[2]

In 1549 Charles took further measures against them, ordering that all who had not been in Antwerp for six years should depart within a month. The people of Antwerp feared the mischief such a course would entail, for many Jews owed a great deal of money in the town in the way of business. Many of those who had resided in the town for six years were in partnership with those who had not, and great commercial difficulties were foretold. Besides this, it was felt that some leniency was due to them on account of good service done by them to the town at the time van Rossem threatened it. A further Ordinance was issued in 1550, but it continued to be an unwise and perhaps an impossible step to drive them from the town.

The final conquest of Guelders and preparations for war with France were in themselves sufficient to occupy the Regent in the months following van Rossem's raid, and the Magistrates of Antwerp had enough to do in erecting new fortifications and in rebuilding and enlarging the town, yet the fear of some revolu-

[1] Les nouveaux Chrétiens à Anvers, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," II, p. 224, etc.

[2] Rawdon Brown, V, No. 229.

tionary outbreak was never absent. We have seen that in 1526 Loy Pruystinck, the slater, was condemned to a penance with certain associates for heretical practices. It was now that he reappeared with teachings of a rather more dangerous nature. We find him at the head of a sect which had many devotees, not only in Antwerp but also throughout Brabant and Flanders. At his first appearance he had been dubbed a Lutheran, so now, quite as erroneously, he is called an Anabaptist, that being at the moment to the minds of men the worst term of reproach that could be used; but there is no evidence that any of the Loïsten (as his followers were called) were found guilty of any of the offences with which it was customary to charge Anabaptists.[1] Perhaps the sect had something in common with that of David George (Joris), of Leyden, who gave himself out to be the Messiah, and persuaded many common people that he could speak the language of birds and was fed by them, and put forward other absurdities.

The sect of Loy was really a branch of that of the Libertines (Libertijen or Vrijgeesten), the chief of whose tenets were that there was no Resurrection of the Body and that what Hell there was would be encountered on earth. They said that the spiritual side of man, which was entirely distinct from his body, was part of God and would eventually be absorbed by Him. Hence they had no reason to preserve the body from sin. It was only possible, they said, to explain contradictions which they found in the Bible in this way. We do not know where Loy passed the time which elapsed between the penance done in 1526 and his second appearance, but very likely his sect existed in Antwerp all the time in an ever-changing condition. Anyway he was in Antwerp in 1534–5, for in that year he became acquainted there with a Paris jeweller named Christopher Hérault, who had fled thither and was prosecuted for Lutheran opinions. We do not know the result of this prosecution, but the Frenchman was put to death a few years later on another charge, when he had become a follower of Loy. We cannot tell at what time Loy's teaching began to spread, but it made many converts among well-to-do merchants and burghers, who seem to have been attracted by its easy morality. Loy was an uneducated man, but he could preach well and his theories were at the same time embodied in books by Dominicus van Oucle.

The activities of the sect seem to have escaped the notice of the Government, if not of the Magistrates, and it was due to an accident that they were subjected to inquiry. A man had been arrested at Deventer about the 1st of June, 1544, on a charge of heresy, and under torture he implicated certain associates, including the famous David George, and certain residents at

[1] For the full description of the sect see Julius Frederichs' "De Secte der Loïsten of Antwerpsche Libertijnen."

Antwerp, namely Cornelius van Lierre, Heer van Berchem, his brothers-in-law Joachim and Regnier van Berchem and their mother; a tallow-chandler named Gerrit; Christopher Hérault, the Paris jeweller; and a "leydedecker oder schaliedecker" (slater or tiler) whom he could not describe further. The Deventer heretic said these were all members of a sect of Sadducees —by which he meant that they did not believe in the Resurrection of the Body—and that there were many of them in Antwerp, particularly among the merchants. This information came before the Magistrates on the 14th of July and they caused Loy and Hérault to be arrested; the others made their escape. Under torture Loy confessed to his connexion with Hérault, and to holding heretical opinions concerning the Resurrection, saying that he believed the body would die and that man's future existence would be spiritual only. The Procureur-General of Brabant cited the fugitives to appear and seized their goods. The Regent was zealous in taking measures against the sect, which she, like the Magistrates, styled followers of David George. Early in September Loy was moved to Vilvoorde Castle.

Several others were arrested, including Jan Davion, a rich burgher, who had for some time traded in Antwerp; Jan Dorhout, a poor tradesman; and Dominicus van Oucle, who compiled the books issued by the sect. The last was arrested at Roosendaal and brought to Antwerp, where he committed suicide in prison. The trial of Hérault and Dorhout began before the Vierschare on the 22nd of September, the former being defended by Master Claus Schat and Master Anthonis Goetheyns, advocates. On the 8th of October both the prisoners were condemned to be beheaded. Numbers of persons fled from the town fearing arrest.

Germanus Bousseraille, a peasant; Gabriel van Hove, a rich fishmonger; Adrian Stevens; Hendrik de Smet, a painter and tinker, who lived in the Flax Market; and Aerden Steenaerts were arrested and tried. On the 9th of October Hérault and Dorhout were beheaded and their bodies placed on wheels outside the town. Davion, Bousseraille, van Hove, and Stevens were defended by Master Claus Schat. These Loïsten were tried by a Court at Antwerp, but Loy, Smits, and Steenaerts were tried by the Council of Brabant at Vilvoorde. Smits effected his escape from the Steen and, like many who fled the town, was banished. In October Loy was sent back to Antwerp, having been found a relapsed heretic.

On Friday, the 24th of October, he was brought up before the Vierschare and Master Claus Schat defended him. He was condemned to death and he expressed his willingness to recant again. Before his execution he tried to withdraw charges he had made implicating his associates, arguing that he had spoken while under torture, and urged that he was the only member

of the sect who had preached and disputed on questions of belief. On Saturday, the 25th of October, he was burnt alive outside the town. A fortnight later Dr. Nicholas Wotton wrote of " this business of the heretics that of late hath been detected in Antwerpe, the which hath much exasperated th' Emperor and his Council against all that be anything suspect to have offended th' Emperor's Statutes and Ordinances concerning like matters." [1] After dilatory proceedings Davion, Bousseraille, and van Hove were condemned to death, and were beheaded on the 28th of February, 1545, their bodies being set on wheels with their heads above them.

Adrian Stevens was fined.[2] Sir Edward Carne in a letter to Henry VIII written in Brussels speaks of " the sects of the Anabaptists and others (at Antwerp) that would have all things in common " [3] and no doubt the Loïsten were generally regarded by their contemporaries as the outcome of John of Leyden's theories. We hear no more of the sect, but many others suffered under the description of Anabaptists. The term " Lutheran " had come to be applied to a better class of the unorthodox—even though they did not strictly follow Luther's doctrines—and such as were educated, and did not mix religious views with talk about community of goods.

The Edict of the 7th of October, 1531, ordered the branding or other mutilation of booksellers who published books without authorization. During the first ten years of Mary's Regency Placards were issued forbidding the publishing and reading of heretical books and the importation from abroad of all books of whatever nature unless authorized, and the officers of justice were ordered to seize suspected works found in the houses of printers, booksellers, rhetoricians, etc. The Chambers of Rhetoric were already proving hotbeds of heresy, and in 1536 they were forbidden to act new comedies without leave of the Magistrates and the authorization of the Dominicans. At the Landjewel held at Ghent in 1539, when the " Violet " of Antwerp won chief prize, many answers to the question put were such as to offend monks and clergy. No edicts seemed able to stop the flow of Lutheran literature from the presses and none were more zealous in this work than the printers of Antwerp.

On the 22nd of September, 1540, the prohibition against printing books speaking of Holy Scripture—or even mentioning it—without licence was re-issued. The output, however, did not decrease and books were put on sale and passed from hand to hand disguised under title-pages which gave no clue as to their real contents.

[1] Gairdner, XIX, Part II, No. 716.
[2] Julius Frederichs, " De Secte der Loïsten," and " Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII.
[3] Gairdner, XIX, Part II, No. 38.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

A few weeks before the appearance of van Rossem the Antwerp printer, Jacob van Liesvelt, was prosecuted. He had published several editions of the Bible in Dutch with woodcuts, and in the last of them, that of 1542, a marginal note stated that man must look to Christ alone for salvation, and in a print he disguised the Devil as a monk.[1] He was prosecuted in June 1542 for printing books "full of errors." By some means he satisfied the Court and was released.[2] This printer was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke in 1536 and at the time of the prosecution he lived in the *Shield of Artois* on the Brewers' Gate Bridge.[3]

In April 1543 the Emperor's Ambassador in England wrote to the Regent that "fugitive Englishmen, wicked wretches," got heretical books printed in Flanders (that is to say in Antwerp) and sent them secretly to England "to the scandal of good men," and that Henry VIII desired her to put a stop to the practice.[4] At about this time proceedings were commenced against a member of the Chamber of Rhetoric called the "Violet," named Jacob van Middledonck, for having (1542) staged a play smacking of heresy called *The Tree of Scripture* with a prologue which gave offence.[5] He also was acquitted of having done anything worthy of punishment, and it is to be noted that the Magistrates were not searching for opportunities of showing severity to those who had committed some trivial error if they expressed contrition and were known as good citizens in other respects.

Edicts of the 17th of December, 1544, and of the 30th of June, 1546, confirmed that of 1540 and made further provisions for the muzzling of the Press and for checking the distribution of heretical books. That of 1546 also regulated the conduct of schools. The authorities saw clearly that the reading of the Bible tended to put into men's minds thoughts against princes and the laws maintained by them for the good order of society, as well as against the rulers of the Church and their doctrines.

The Archbishop of Santiago de Compostella wrote to Charles in February 1544 describing the condition of the Netherlands, and said that the town of Antwerp was then so contaminated with Luther's doctrines that the mere thought of it moved him to pity, and he expressed the hope that Charles would be zealous in preserving the Old Faith.[6] The Emperor answered that he had already made such provision as was likely to cleanse the city from heresies and that everything would be done to stop the evil. Very likely both Emperor and Archbishop confused Loy

[1] M. & T., IV, 275.
[2] Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VII, p. 465.
[3] Frans Olthoff, "De Boekdrukkers, etc., in Antwerpen."
[4] Gairdner, XVIII, Part I, No. 353.
[5] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII.
[6] "Calendar of State Papers, England and Spain," VII, Nos. 29 and 30.

and his followers with the Lutherans, but since he had been set free from war with France by the Peace of Crespy (September 1544) Charles was in reality making it his chief object to eradicate all heresy—under whatever name it might be known—in Germany and the Netherlands.

In spite of the Placards Bibles and heretical books were turned out in plenty by Antwerp printers. The printing presses were a mighty factor in spreading the new doctrines, and in return curiosity as to the contents of their other products created purchasers and readers who might have left all books severely alone had these engrossing arguments about Scripture and the Church not sprung up at the time.

One at least of the Antwerp printers lost his life in consequence of the part he played in this work. This was Jacob van Liesvelt, whom we have already seen in trouble, but acquitted by the Magistrates. In May 1545 he was again charged with selling heretical books. He was defended by Master Claus Schat and Master Anthonis Goetheyns, and his defence was that the books in question had been on the market before the Emperor's Placards against them had been issued, and that some of them had been authorized. He was condemned on the 27th of November, 1545,[1] and was beheaded. In 1545 the Council of Trent began its sittings and there was hope some good might arise from it by way of restoring peace among Christians.

Charles's publication of fresh instructions to Inquisitors in 1546 does not concern Antwerp, for the Magistrates were successful in resisting interference with the right of the burghers to be tried by the Vierschare, and Loy's case was an exception. When Charles made war on the League of Smalcald the people of Antwerp were in great excitement as to what the outcome would be, and, as we shall see in another chapter, the willingness of the Antwerp merchants to advance money to him was a factor he had to take into consideration when making his plans for the forcible suppression of heresy in Germany. It appears from the records that only one more Lutheran was put to death in Antwerp for heresy, but there is some doubt on the point.

A procession was held in the town on the 7th of May, 1547, to return thanks for Charles's utter defeat of the Lutheran princes at Mühlberg, and on the 26th of the same month this Antwerp Lutheran was beheaded before the Town House, after having been in the Steen for twenty-six months. He was a schoolmaster, named Peter Scuddemate, and had made a great reputation for himself as a Rhetorician.[2] An Ordinance of the 20th of November, 1549, regulated the confiscation of the goods of those

[1] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII.

[2] "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert; "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII. The other chroniclers give the wrong date.

convicted of contravening the Placards and relations were forbidden to buy them.

Joannes des Camps, Adrian the painter, Henry the Tailor, Cornelius Aelywn, Roland Calon suffered in 1549 for heresy of some sort.[1] Three Anabaptists were put to death in 1550—Hans van Munster, Bartel, and a man known as Old Jacob.[2]

On the 28th of April, 1550, Charles issued another Placard for all the Netherlands. This actually went so far as to mention an Inquisitor and Inquisition as such. An extraordinary judge was to be set above the natural judges and he was to conduct an inquiry into the state of the souls of the people. In future no one was to be admitted to a town or village unless he produced a certificate from the parish priest of his last domicile stating that he was a good Catholic. No one was to open a school without the authority of the chief civil officers and the ordinary. Heretics were declared incapable of disposing of their goods after the day on which they fell into error and such dispositions were to be void. All were forbidden under pain of fine to harbour heretics, but must denounce them. The Magistrates offered a strenuous opposition to this Placard. It was plain that the Inquisition was to be established and it was felt that free intercourse of commerce would become impossible if strangers were required to bring such certificates with them. The inhabitants of Antwerp were seriously alarmed when the foreign merchants—particularly those of Protestant nations—began to depart.

In August 1550 the English, Portuguese, Easterlings, and Germans were departing daily in great numbers, asserting that the Inquisition drove them away, and they seemed inclined to settle in Rouen.[3] Trade came to a standstill and artisans were thrown out of work. The Council of Brabant refused to affix the seal to the Placard until compelled to do so by Mary.[4] No doubt Charles felt the increase in power over Protestants, which had accrued to him in consequence of his victory at Mühlberg, warranted these measures, but the effect of them on a commercial town was so dire that merchants might well be excused for conceiving the idea that they were aimed at Antwerp in particular. Realizing to the full extent what the decay of Antwerp's commerce would mean to the Imperial treasury, the Regent persuaded Charles to grant some freedom to the foreign merchants at Antwerp as to the proving of their faith, but this in no way permitted them to live otherwise than as good Catholics and in conformity with the Edicts.

The zeal displayed by the Magistrates during the summer resulted in the Regent's decision to travel to Augsburg to lay

[1] Diercxsens, IV, p. 117.
[2] Van Braght, "Het Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaers Spiegel," Part II, p. 102.
[3] "Calendar of State Papers, England and Spain," X, p. 167, etc.
[4] Henne, IX.

the whole matter before the Emperor and to urge on him that the privileges and franchises enjoyed by the inhabitants of the town made it impossible to establish the Inquisition there.[1] At her solicitation Charles consented to expunge from the Placard all that seemed to introduce the Inquisition. These alterations were embodied in a Placard of the 25th of September, 1550, which, if it did not meet with the approval of the people of Antwerp, was at all events some guarantee that Charles had the interests of the town at heart. Other towns had followed the example of Antwerp in opposing the publication of the Placard of April, but not with a like success, and persecution was rife throughout the Provinces.

The conduct of the Magistrates had saved Antwerp from the menace of the Placard, and they were not less zealous or successful in resisting the efforts of the Inquisitors to intrude on the town. The Placard of the 25th of September summarized and re-enacted all those which had preceded it, but Charles consented that the provisions which voided contracts, wills, and other dispositions of goods made by heretics (even though made before they had been proved guilty), should not apply to those trading in the town. He explained that the prohibitions against harbouring heretics did not apply to merchants coming to the Netherlands provided that they did not contravene the Placards and conducted themselves without scandal. The Magistrates declared that the publication of the Placard was made without prejudice to the privileges of the town, and before giving leave for it they procured a deed under the Great Seal of Brabant safeguarding the liberties. Yet in spite of these provisions the people of Antwerp were full of trepidation as to the outcome. The Placard was published on the 5th of November, and it was noticed that while the Schout read it none of the Magistrates stood beside him as they usually did on such occasions.

This was Charles's last Edict, but the Professors of Divinity who had been appointed to hunt down heresy exercised their offices with much greater severity than before—at all events in the towns which had received the April Placard—and even in Antwerp the number of executions for heresy increased. Towards the end of 1550 or at the beginning of 1551 Janne Lievensonne, a baker of Ghent, was burnt alive in the Market Place for having been re-baptized, and afterwards his head was put on a stake.[2] When he had been on the point of approaching the fire a fellow-religionist and -townsman, named Peter van den Broecke, exhorted him to have courage. The latter was seized and soon afterwards met a similar death.

[1] Brandt, I; Papebrochius, II; Wesenbeke; Henne, IX; Juste, "Vie de Marie de Hongrie"; Pirenne, III; Mulder, "De uitovering der Geloofsplakkaten," etc.

[2] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII, and "Chronyk van Antwerpen."

In June 1551 all foreigners suspected of heresy, especially Anabaptists, were forbidden to enter the town, unless armed with a certificate of the priest of the parish whence they came, in accordance with the last Placard.[1] From this provision foreign merchants had already been exempted. An Englishman in the Netherlands at this time remarked that but for the strictness of the laws the country would be much troubled by the Anabaptists.[2] Many escaped to England, so that a large deputation of the citizens of London waited on the Lord Mayor complaining of the influx of strangers. An estimate of their number was therefore ordered, and it was given at 40,000 in London alone, without counting women and children, who had for the most part fled as heretics,[3] and we may conclude many from Antwerp were amongst them. The temper of the people at this time, in face of the renewal of persecution, can be judged from the fact that in August a reward of 100 gulden was offered by the Magistrates for the discovery of those who had thrown down the Cross on the Hoboken road and broken it in pieces. Besides this the images in the chapel on the dyke running near Austruweel had been mutilated.[4]

Among those arrested in 1551 were Jeronimus Segers, his wife Lijsken Dirks, and Hendrik Beverts of Deventer, called Big Hendrik. The only charge against them concerned baptism. They were tortured but would not confess their error, so on the 2nd of September the two men were executed and their corpses set on stakes, but some co-religionists stole away the bodies. Popular sympathy was strong in the woman's favour and a crowd gathered outside the Steen during her imprisonment and encouraged her with songs. Her execution was postponed because she was with child, but that over it was thought expedient to put her into a sack and push her into the Scheldt between three and four o'clock one morning. Even then some persons saw what was done, and an uproar arose among the people when they were told of it.

Also in September Henrick van Westele was executed and in October Janne van Ostend, Martene der Petitz, Jacob Peeters, Janne van den Wouwere, Peeteren de Bruyne, Pleunis de Hoevele.[5] Brandt says that Janne van Ostende was a Lutheran, but the others seem to have suffered for heretical doctrines concerning baptism.

The first few weeks of 1552 saw the execution of Assuerum van Gheemont, a goldsmith, at whose house many had been baptized, and of a woman named Lisken Aerts, who had married

[1] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[2] Turnbull, Ed. VI, p. 122.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 370.
[4] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[5] Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII; Van Braght, "Het Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaers Spiegel," etc.; Brandt, I, p. 91.

without the Church's rite, but according to Anabaptist custom.[1] One execution followed another throughout the year, for many confessed to having been re-baptized and remaining obstinate went to the stake. A similar fate awaited those who remained obstinate in the Lutheran faith, but most of the victims were Anabaptists. Extraordinary powers of endurance were shown by persons of all kinds and they gloried in their deaths.

The accounts of the year 1552 show that the executioner received thirty stivers for each execution, and the confessor twelve stivers. When the executioner took the corpses out of the town and put the heads on stakes he got ten stivers extra for each.[2] A record remains of the purchase of straw for the burnings, ropes for the torture-chamber and gallows, nails, wheels, canvas for the sacks for drowning women, and linen to make breeches for them to wear on the occasion. The executions continued in plenty throughout 1553 and 1554. The executioner at the time was the celebrated Geleyn, who some years later fell into trouble and was himself executed.

There was no cessation of drownings and burnings up to the time Charles abdicated in the autumn of 1555, leaving the task of stamping out the new doctrines to his more bigoted son. Although the Lutherans were not persecuted with such rigour as the Anabaptists—their doctrines having come to seem less offensive than at first—there were a very large number of them in the town. In August 1552 Charles had (Peace of Passau) allowed the reformed faith in Germany, and being again at war with France he found himself compelled to permit the Lutherans among his German lance-knights to be accompanied by their preachers. Owing to civil commotions in Antwerp a regiment of these mercenaries under Lazarus Swendi was lodged there in February 1555, and their ministers did not hesitate to preach the Gospel and converse on religion with the townspeople. No fault was found with them for doing this, and it became necessary to grant liberties to the soldiers in such matters as eating meat on fast-days. It was thought such concessions spread the doctrines and at the same time caused jealousy among those to whom no such latitude was permitted. In the year which saw Charles's abdication a number of Anabaptists were put to death in Antwerp, one of them a girl and all of the artisan class and apparently pious folk.

[1] Bertrijn, 92.
[2] Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REGENCY OF MARY OF HUNGARY, INCLUDING MARTEN VAN ROSSEM'S ATTEMPT AGAINST ANTWERP

CHARLES visited the Netherlands in January 1531, and the appointment of his sister Mary, Dowager-Queen of Hungary, as Regent was announced in the following March. The years which opened the new Regency were not propitious for the people of Antwerp. Repeatedly the harvest failed, and there were several disastrous floods. A few weeks before Margaret's death a violent tempest, which had begun on All Saints' Day, culminated in a great flood which broke the Flemish dyke and inundated most of the low-lying villages between Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, drowning men and beasts together. At Antwerp the Scheldt rose three feet above the Wharf.

Under this year a chronicler notes particularly that it was dangerous to go about the streets of Antwerp after dark owing to the roughs, but that the execution of three of them in the autumn had a beneficial effect. The truth is that the whole country was full of sturdy vagrants who murdered, thieved, and broke into houses at their will. Charles took strong measures to repress these folk, ordering that no one should be allowed to beg except prisoners, lepers, and monks of the mendicant orders. The decline of weaving and the interruptions suffered by commerce had thrown many out of work, and these, together with disbanded soldiers, came in numbers to Antwerp as a place in which something might turn up for them.

Charles came to the Netherlands with the objects of installing his sister as Regent and of setting the finances in order. He let it be known that he did not expect the towns to give him a costly reception, seeing that they had granted him great sums of money in recent years. He spent four days in Antwerp in March. Before Margaret's death steps had been taken to free the Netherlands from the jurisdiction of the Empire in all matters except taxation, but in point of fact such a change made little difference to the town of Antwerp, save in so far as the tendency of it was to make the country a mere dependency of Spain,[1] nor is it necessary to make more than a passing reference to the setting up of the three collateral councils in 1531 (the

[1] Pirenne, III, p. 89.

Council of State, the Privy Council, and the Council of Finance), designed to consolidate the Provinces by centralizing the administration and unifying the laws. At the same time Granvelle took over the management of all affairs concerning the Netherlands.

During the year 1531 the distress of the inhabitants was aggravated by a further rise in prices caused by another interference with trade in northern waters. Christian of Denmark, still an exile in the Netherlands, had assembled ships in the harbours of Holland to recover his kingdom, and this proceeding led Frederick of Holstein and the Hansa to close the Sound to all Netherland ships, sending up the price of wheat. Rye rose to 46 Rhine florins per last, and it would have been higher if the Bremen sailors had not run ships through from time to time.[1] There were bread-riots at Mechlin and other towns. When peace was restored (June 1532) four hundred Netherland ships sailed to the Baltic and brought back so much rye that the price fell from 46 to 22 Rhine florins. The appearance of a comet in this year had caused much uneasiness to thoughtful citizens, but the astrologers assured them that it was not one of the sort which harbinger calamity.

On the last day of November the factor of the King of Portugal arranged festivities on the Meer Bridge in honour of the birth of a Portuguese prince. A large number of tar-barrels were burnt and a half-stiver and a piece of bread were given to each poor man. A silver cup which he promised to anyone who could secure a crown set upon a pole was not won by a competitor, but was stolen during the following night. The Emperor inaugurated his sister in October (1531) and departed to Germany in January—at a moment when prospects seemed far from hopeful for him. An outbreak of war with France, England, and Guelders seemed likely and affairs in Germany were in a very unsettled state. On the 9th of April, 1532, Mary of Hungary paid her first visit to Antwerp and was royally received. A few days before her coming the Magistrates had issued further injunctions against begging similar in character to those promulgated by Charles in the previous year.

It is evident that at the time the habit of almsgiving in churches was on the decline, for it was urged on the Almoners of the town, on priests who preached and heard confessions, and on notaries who drew up wills for clients to do their best to increase gifts and legacies to such persons (mendicant monks, prisoners, and lepers) as were lawfully entitled to solicit their compassion.[2] A flood in the following November did more damage than that of 1530, although it did not rise so high by a foot. A further closing of the Sound disturbed commerce, but did less

[1] Louis Torfs, "Fastes des Calamités publiques," etc., I.
[2] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.

damage to Antwerp than to Holland, and a Treaty was made with Denmark in September 1533.

The event of the autumn was a fire which broke out in the Church of Our Lady at eleven o'clock of the evening of the 7th of October and did much injury to the contents of the church and destroyed portions of the roof. It seems that the people were slow to run to the rescue and that the whole church would have perished if the Burgomaster Launcelot van Ursel had not urged them to their duty. The task was a difficult one, and the Burgomaster's clothes were burnt on him and falling fragments imperilled his life. The spirit of the worse elements of the town is evinced by an order issued by the Magistrates for the return of the goods which had been stolen from the church and the surrounding houses during the fire.[1] The houses seem to be those which even in those days leant against the church and during the building were used by the workmen employed.

No small stir had been caused in the town at this time by the news of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn. The King had not been popular with the Catholics for some time past, as we can tell from letters written to Cromwell by Englishmen in Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom.[2] We hear (November 1531) that people "spit out blasphemies everywhere" against him. Even before the news of his divorce arrived "a naughty person of Antwerp," who was a merchant, took "images and pictures in cloth," including a picture of the King, to Bergen-op-Zoom at mart-time and set them up for sale at the Bourse. On this picture of the King he pinned "a wench" made of cloth holding a pair of balances. In one balance was depicted two hands clasped together, and in the other a feather. Above the head of the "wench" was an inscription to the effect that love was lighter than a feather. The Spaniards and Dutch were amused, but the "naughty person" was reproved by the Magistrates. Certain Observant Friars, fled from Canterbury, named Peto ("a tiger clad in a sheep-skin") and Elston, were lodging at the Cloister of the Franciscans at Antwerp and were issuing books about the King's divorce. It annoyed the King's loyal subjects who resided in the town to hear of Peto's "having the fairest lodging in the house, and lacking no books" at the Grey Friars. In fact, Antwerp became a base of operations for the Friars against the King.

The people drew a comparison between Henry and that Count Baldwin of Flanders who was "abused by diabolic illusions," and all over the town derisive songs were sung about him. Some of those who espoused the cause of Catherine of Aragon—the Emperor's aunt—gossiped that Andrea Doria would soon sail and conquer England. At the end of 1533 Mary

[1] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[2] Gairdner, V, No. 533; VI, Nos. 518, 726, 899, 900, 1065, 1100, 1263, 1324.

fell ill and people began to appreciate her worth. It was felt that in the event of her death Charles would find difficulty in filling her place, but fortunately for Antwerp and the rest of the Provinces she regained her former health. All the courage of a Regent was needed to secure the safety of the Provinces, surrounded as they were by hostile states. When 1534 opened the French threatened the frontier, the rising of the Anabaptists was assuming alarming proportions, and endless troubles with the Hansa entailed frequent cessation of trade with the Baltic. This aspect of affairs was ameliorated to a great extent by a Truce for four years made on the 26th of March with Wullenweber and the Hansa, so that ships began to come regularly to Antwerp from the Baltic. Great preparations were now afoot for Charles's expedition against Tunis. The export of munitions of war from Antwerp to England was prohibited, and a muster was made in the town of sturdy beggars and vagabonds for his army. At the end of the year it was expected that Francis would attack the Netherlands as soon as Charles had set sail for Tunis, and to this anxiety was added the fear, prompted by the doings of the Anabaptists at Münster, that some treachery might be practised against the town.

Charles sailed to Tunis on the 30th of May, 1535. At that moment men's eyes were turned towards Münster to see if it would be re-taken by its Bishop. It fell on the 25th of June. The Magistrates of Antwerp took all precautions against treachery by Anabaptists or others in the town, ordering that no one was to be abroad in the streets after gate-bell, even to attend one of those wedding-feasts so dear to Antwerpers.[1] During Whitsuntide the chief interest was the aspect of affairs which would present itself at the termination of the expedition against Tunis, for it was felt that any disaster would set on the French King against Charles's Netherland possessions. Trade was affected by the Tunis war and the English merchants found it difficult to sell their cloth at the summer Mart, while unfounded rumours as to Charles's success found their way to the town. "He that will believe every nue that is blasted in Flanders amongst merchants shall have a mad head," wrote Stephen Vaughan to Cromwell in the autumn.

News of the capture of Tunis arrived early in July at the same time as the confirmation of the reports that Münster was again in the hands of its Bishop, and a great load of anxiety was taken off the minds of the Antwerpers,[2] but it was not until September that a Procession of Thanksgiving was held for Charles's success. The Netherlands were at this time hemmed in by Charles's enemies, and the English trade with Antwerp was

[1] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.

[2] For steps taken at this time to preserve the town from the Anabaptist danger, see p. 193.

essential to the welfare of all Brabant, and yet Antwerp monks were permitted to offer the greatest insults to Henry and his subjects.

On the day of the Martyrdom of John the Baptist (29th of August) an "undiscreet friar" preached a sermon at the Dominicans' speaking of the King and Queen (Anne Boleyn) as another Herod and Herodias. This proceeding so angered Robert Flegge, an English merchant resident in Antwerp, that he collected together three or four of the chief of the Company of Adventurers and called on the Prior of the Dominicans. At this interview the Prior at first "made himself ignorant," and said he was very sorry that such matter should have been spoken in his church and promised to speak with the preacher, but Flegge demanded that the slanderous words should be withdrawn in the place in which they had been uttered. At a later interview the Prior took the line that what the friar had said was true, until Flegge told him that all the clergy in Christendom had consented to the King's marriage, which was of course news to him. It was ultimately conceded that the friar should revoke what he had said, in the middle of his sermon, adding to the revocation that he had been misinformed, but that now he realized that Henry was a right virtuous and noble prince, and that he should express his contrition.[1]

Charles had been occupied on Christendom's behalf in warring against the infidel, but now Francis allied himself with Soliman against his great rival and again incited the Duke of Guelders to invade his dominions. In truth another war with France became inevitable when Francesco Sforza died (November 1535) and the possession of Milan again became the object of both Emperor and King. The war which broke out in the following year was waged for the most part in Savoy and Provence—Antwerp seeing none of it, but feeling the strain it caused on the financial resources of the people, for the town lent Charles a large sum of money. Fine Netherland armies invaded Picardy and Guelders, but so impossible did it seem to demand further supplies from the country that Mary was anxious to withdraw the Netherlands from the contest. The campaign against Charles of Egmont resulted in the Treaty of Gavre, which permanently joined Groningen to the Emperor's possessions and recognized him as heir to the Duchy of Guelders and the County of Zutphen; but the campaign against France was barren of results.

In March 1537 Francis in his turn invaded the Netherlands, but made little headway before Mary brought negotiations to a successful conclusion and signed truce (so far as the Netherlands were concerned) at Bomy on the 30th of July. Equally acceptable to the traders of Antwerp was a truce for three years

[1] Gairdner, IX, No. 329.

signed at Brussels (3rd of May, 1537) between the Netherlands and Christian III, the new King of Denmark, granting free navigation of the Sound and restoration of ships which had been seized. On this news the price of rye fell from 36 to 16 florins the last, and tar, pitch, potash, fir-trees and other products of the North followed suit.[1]

On the 15th of November, 1537, the Peace of Monçon was concluded between Charles and Francis, and the war came to an end. It was the unwillingness of Ghent to pay taxes voted at this time by the other "members" of Flanders which led to the tearing up of the Calf-skin and the subsequent scenes enacted at the time of Charles's coming in 1540. The Peace of Monçon was strengthened and confirmed by the Peace of Nice (18th of June, 1538), which put an end to hostilities for ten years. It was published amidst great rejoicings, and at Antwerp processions were held carrying the Holy Sacrament, whilst the "Violet" gave a performance on the Market Place.

At this time there seems to have been a great deal of lawlessness in the town; affrays were common in the streets and it became necessary to make regulations to restrain the stabbing and assaulting which went on at the Bourse and in the streets round it. It was a common thing for one giving a feast to have dishes prepared at one of the cook-shops and sent to his house, but ruffians would now seize the viands on their way and thus disappoint the expectant party. Similar knaves would pull women out of their beds at dead of night. People returning to the town after the gates had been closed climbed over the walls, to the disgust of those in authority. All sorts of immorality was to be discovered, to say nothing of dicing and gambling, so dear to Antwerpers. Men who had no thoughts for decorum broke the hearts of the Magistrates by writing and drawing with coal and chalk on the woodwork of the New Bourse and cut on it with knives. In 1539 a Shooting Festival was held by the Military Guilds and some miscreants assaulted and robbed the Fool of the Guild of Bois-le-Duc while staying as their guest in the town. Murders were far from rare, even of foreign merchants.[2] Perhaps the Hansa merchants were right who were unwilling to leave Bruges for Antwerp on the ground that in the latter town the young men were lawless.

Nor were the people happy, especially the rougher classes; and the discontent culminated in some rioting in 1539. The occasion for this outburst was an incident familiar to the student of Antwerp history, namely the increasing of the beer-excise. The matter was handled with skill and wisdom, so that order was

[1] Henne, VI.
[2] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.

speedily restored, but it is clear that with the doings at Ghent before their eyes the Magistrates must have been uneasy.[1] That they feared there was some deep-rooted dissatisfaction in the town, which had little to do with the price of beer—but which might lead to the overthrow of their authority as well as that of the Emperor—may be concluded from the decision arrived at by Charles two years later to build a castle in the town to keep it in subjection. This scheme was not carried into effect until the next reign—like several of Charles's plans framed with a like object—and Philip earned opprobrium which would have fallen on his more popular father had circumstances allowed him to carry out all his intentions. The excise on beer was taken off in October.

The trouble in Ghent had originated ostensibly in the imposition of a tax without the town's consent. The money was needed to repel the French invasion and had been granted by the other "members" of Flanders; but at Ghent political and social causes had been preparing an upheaval for years past, and they all found vent in the outbreak of 1539, when the Calf-skin (recording the terms of the Treaty of Cadzant) was torn up by the rioters on the 2nd of September, just a month before the Antwerp Magistrates with wisdom allayed the trouble at Antwerp by reducing the beer-excise. Although Ghent had lost the predominance which it possessed in the days of Arteveldt, it was still spoken of as a great city—devoted now mostly to the grain trade—and in the summer of this year the streets of the ancient Flemish city had for a few days put on something of the splendour of the time when Burgundian Dukes rode through them; for hither had come nineteen Chambers of Rhetoric to attend a Landjewel, which was reckoned one of the most splendid and important ever given. The "question" asked was "What would be the greatest consolation to one on the point of death?" and the "Violet" of Antwerp won with the answer: "The Resurrection of the Flesh," their prize being four silver cups weighing 9 marks Troy.[2] The love of Rhetoric contests had not declined one jot in the eyes of the Antwerpers, and the chroniclers show that in August and September in this year prizes were put up at Antwerp for children to compete in play-acting and the like; and the children from Brewers' Street and Lombards' Rampart did the best. Such pastimes as these soon gave place to other scenes in both Antwerp and Ghent, for within the next three years both were threatened by a foreign foe and the Flemish town lay for days naked and helpless at the feet of an insulted Sovereign.

Henry and Cromwell had done their best to keep Francis from making peace with Charles, and to attain that end they would have been willing to let him seize some portion of Flanders

[1] Bertrijn. [2] Van Heyst, "Boek der Tyden."

and to please him they would have helped him to move the Antwerp Marts to Rouen or some other French town convenient to the English. After the Peace of Nice (June 1538) Cromwell had to look for new allies. In the first weeks of 1539 it seemed as if Charles and Francis would make war upon Henry, and ships under letters of marque waylaid English merchandise going from Antwerp to London.[1] Some of the English merchants in the Netherlands expected an attack on England less than on themselves; they feared, as one of them expressed it, that they might "peradventure broil a faggot." But gossips on the Bourse talked much of the possibility of a combined attack by Charles and Francis on England and all such chatter was duly passed on to Cromwell, who complained that the English merchants at Antwerp "bruit many things," to which Vaughan rejoined that "the Flemish bruit beyond measure."

In February Charles had ordered the Schout of Antwerp to put an embargo on the ships of all nations until Easter—to secure sailors for his expedition against Algiers or perhaps for an enterprise against England. None knew at the time against whom these preparations were being made, and some thought it might be even Guelders or Denmark. English ships were detained at Antwerp, but on representations being made by the English Ambassador, the Regent agreed to liberate such as were manned exclusively by Englishmen. Now after the last Mart some English merchants had fallen a prey to pirates on their way home, and it had been decided to man two ships fitted for war to defend the fleet on the forthcoming journey homeward, and it was not possible at such short notice to find so many English sailors in the Netherlands. The English ships lay before Antwerp ready to return from the Mart, but not even reprisals made by Henry induced the authorities to permit them all to sail. The preparation of artillery made daily at Antwerp and the increase of the fleet which lay in Holland were a puzzle to the English at Antwerp, and in England every man who could bear arms was being mustered. Henry was buying powder, arquebuses, armour, gunstones, etc., in Antwerp and shipping them to England with all possible dispatch, in spite of the strict search for such stuff by the Emperor's officers. In April a Netherland fleet of some fifty ships of war was cruising off Holland and Zeland, and their destination was kept secret. The war-scare came to an end about July. The death of Jane Seymour had set Henry free to marry again, and many in Antwerp hoped that he would choose Christina, Duchess of Milan, the Emperor's niece, and thus put an end to all fear of war, but Cromwell's schemes ran in a contrary direction.[2]

[1] Gairdner, XIV, Part I, Nos. 286, 287, 336, 337, 338, 433, 487, 592, 670, 677, 781, 902.

[2] In 1538 Henry sent Holbein to Brussels and there he painted the portrait of Christina, now in the National Gallery.

In 1538 Charles of Egmont had died without an heir, and William, the son of the Duke of Cleves-Julich-Berg, was elected his successor by the States of Guelders, in spite of the Treaty of Gavre, which secured the reversion to Charles. Duke William had a sister Anne, and it was for this lady's hand that negotiations were opened, for William was in alliance with the Lutheran Princes of Germany and to them Cromwell looked for support. When the time came for Anne's journey to England the Commissioners appointed by the Duke of Cleves to make the necessary arrangements thought it expedient for her to travel by land, for she " is young and beautiful, and if she should be transported by the seas they fear much how it might alter her complexion." [1] She had never travelled by sea before, and they feared she might catch cold " or other disease," and so she made her way through Brabant with a safe-conduct, and arrived at Antwerp on the 2nd of December. She was met by the English merchants four miles outside the town as she approached from Düsseldorf, fifty of the merchants wearing velvet coats with chains of gold. Eighty torches were held burning as she passed through the gates, although it was daylight, and it was said so many people had never collected before to see an entry into Antwerp, even when the Emperor came, and Nicolas Wotton thought that " what with my lady's train, and Mr. Vaughan, and the merchants, it was a goodly sight." Anne proceeded to the English Factory and there she kept open house for one day. Then she went on her way towards Calais, escorted on the first stage by the English merchants.[2]

Charles's visit to the Netherlands in 1540 was the outcome of two events,—the revolt of Ghent and Henry's turn towards the Lutheran Protestants. The people of Antwerp were surprised to hear that he was travelling through Francis's dominions with a safe-conduct from his old enemy, but Henry's new policy had for the moment thrown the two Catholic monarchs into each other's arms. He reached the Netherlands in the middle of January 1540, and was in Ghent by the 14th of February. The punishment bestowed upon the town consisted of loss of privileges, the confiscation of all goods belonging to the town and to the guilds, the dismantling of the bell *Roland*, the personal humiliation of representative citizens, the destruction of the walls, the payment of the tax about which the disputes had arisen together with a fine, the abolition of the constitution, the reduction of the trade guilds to purely industrial groups, and the building of a castle in the town.[3] This chastisement caused consternation throughout the Netherlands, and particularly in the towns in which similar revolts had occurred or in which

[1] Gairdner, XIV, Part II, No. 258.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 634, and XV, No. 14.
[3] Pirenne, III.

anything in the nature of a turbulent spirit had made itself visible.

Before Charles left Ghent it had become known that it was his intention, on his forthcoming visit to Antwerp, to order a castle to be built in that town. The archdeacon of Lincoln, then the English Ambassador with the Emperor, in communicating this fact to Henry, added that Charles began to show a courage which had not hitherto been discovered in him.[1] The castle at Ghent was to stand on the site of the Abbey of St. Bavon, and Guicciardini tells us that the one projected for Antwerp was to have been where the Abbey of St. Michael then stood ; that is to say, in the very heart of the town and plainly intended to overawe and not to protect the inhabitants.

Charles and the Regent left Ghent on the 12th of May, and were approaching Antwerp when they were overtaken by a fierce storm, and so heavy was the rain when they came to the bank of the Scheldt before Antwerp on the Flanders side that they decided not to attempt a stately entrance, but to cross the river and go straight to the royal lodging in the Abbey of St. Michael ; thus disappointing those who had prepared " triumphs " to honour them. The royal party seem to have been extraordinarily unlucky in their weather, for this summer was remarkable for the absence of rain, and water became very scarce. There was however such plenty of Rhine wine that 7½ ames (Antwerp measure) cost only 28 local stivers, but the purchaser had to bring his own jar or bottle.[2] Charles had brought with him Donato Buono Pellizuoli of Bergamo, who was considered the best engineer of his day, and he was ordered to draw a plan for new fortifications for the town and for the castle. In addition Charles appointed a committee on which were the Duke of Alva, the Count of Buren, Duke Gonzaga of Mantua, and Pierre Franz, the architect.[3] On the 23rd of May Charles was entertained at a banquet by the town and on the next day he in person replenished the Bench of Magistrates.

On the 25th of May he departed to Lierre to make a round of the Provinces. During his stay in the town the first prisoner was tried in the newly built Vierschare. The Antwerpers saw the Emperor once more before he departed to Germany—on the night of the 29th of August, when he slept in the town—but three months had produced a great change in his demeanour towards his subjects. During his progress through the Provinces he had learnt that his chastisement of Ghent had alienated their affection and he was, therefore, desirous of winning back their hearts. He had learnt also how difficult it was to govern the country, his own presence being so constantly needed in distant lands, and—much to the astonishment of everyone—he

[1] Gairdner, XV, No. 621.
[2] Papebrochius, II, 219.
[3] Génard, II, 58.

declared himself ready to marry his daughter Mary to the young Duke of Orleans and to give her the Netherlands as a dower. But after some negotiations the scheme was dropped. Charles went to Germany in January 1541, and thence to Spain to complete his preparations for a campaign in Algiers. The aspect of affairs changed quickly in these years. Henry VIII had not admired the beauty of Anne of Cleves so much as the Commissioners who had planned her journey had done, and when he put her aside it became obvious there would be no alliance between him and the German Protestants.

In the autumn Henry forbade merchants to ship goods in other than English ships, much to the injury of the shipowners of Antwerp, and Charles in reply ordered the like to be done in that town, and bickerings went on for many months. The truth is that Henry felt his position was much more secure now than it had been before Charles embarked upon his preparations to attack Algiers. When Catherine Howard fell it was feared he might take Anne back, return to the earlier policy and join the German Protestants, and even Francis as well. Before seeing to what extent these fears of an alliance against the Emperor were justified reference must be made to the only event of interest which occurred in the town in 1541, namely a fire which broke out on the 4th of October, the Feast of St. Francis, and burnt more than thirty houses on both sides of Maelderijstraet (a street running from the Great Market to the Glove Market), including the old Cloth Hall. It is significant that two days afterwards the Magistrates ordered that the goods stolen during the fire should be returned.

In October 1541 Charles set sail on his ill-fated expedition against Algiers, and in the following month his enemies, Francis, William of Cleves, and Christian III of Denmark, signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau (9th of November, 1541) against him. As soon as the Regent heard of the Treaty she began to prepare for the defence of the country, although there was no likelihood of war before the following spring. The greatest secrecy was observed by both sides as to their intentions, Mary letting it be thought that she feared a rising among the Anabaptists and the vagabonds who poured over the country. The States of the Southern Provinces granted subsidies, and so she was able to raise 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. She made a tour of the towns which seemed most in danger, visiting Antwerp and renewing the Bench of Magistrates in person on the 13th of May, and seeing to the preparations for war which were being made in the town. A tempest destroyed Charles's fleet on the way to Algiers, and for weeks his own fate was in doubt, and the news acted as a spur on Francis and his allies, who thereupon redoubled their exertions to prepare for war. In the spring of 1542 French troops were being collected round Péronne and St. Quentin and

on the Luxemburg frontier. Marten van Rossem, the famous Guelders General, was assembling a force for William of Cleves in the Land of Bentheim consisting of 7,000 or 8,000 men from Cleves and many more from Guelders, Denmark, Sweden, and elsewhere, to whom later came bands of Frenchmen. It seems that none of the ordinary citizens of Antwerp had any clear idea of what was being planned against them until the middle of June 1542, when the Magistrates ordered all those born in Cleves, Juliers, and the other dominions of William of Cleves to come to the Town House to be registered and to take oath.[1]

From that date several provisions for the defence of the town were made. Those who lived in the chambers over the gateways or in the towers on the walls were ordered to leave them. Windows and doors opening on the river or on the ramparts were ordered to be secured. Strangers coming to the town were to be reported to the Magistrates and none were to walk abroad at night. None were to approach the town-walls or the artillery except those whose business it was to do so. The reason these orders were given was, no doubt, that correspondence had fallen into the hands of the authorities which showed that traitors had plotted to betray Antwerp and Ghent, and the many men of Cleves and Guelders, who worked as artisans in the town, were regarded with the utmost suspicion.

The most important measure taken by the Magistrates for the town's defence was the election of Cornelius van Spangen, Skepyn, to be supreme Captain of the town with full authority and command. He took his oath to the Regent in July. Guns and ammunition were collected and Servilius states that so excellent were the preparations of the Magistrates that nothing which appertained to the safety of the town or the prevention of treachery was overlooked. Each man was given a post, the defence of the wall being entrusted to the twelve divisions of the town. In the previous year, when there had been talk of replacing the old fortifications by works of newer design, the outside portion of the Kroonenburg Gate had been demolished, and so at this point there was particular danger. Another portion of the fortifications about which the experts had misgivings was that part of the wall which stretched between the Red Gate and the Kipdorp Gate, and therefore the strongest bands of defenders were stationed at these danger-points, the guard of the latter being strengthened by English, Italian, and Portuguese merchants who volunteered for service. Nearly all the foreign merchants showed alacrity in offering their services for the defence of the town. At the end of June the French army on the Luxemburg frontier was increasing daily, but no hostilities had taken place. On the 29th of June two

[1] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.

Agreements were signed at Hampton Court between Charles and Henry which, besides settling commercial disputes, provided that neither party should before October negotiate with any prince to the prejudice of the other, and that treaties of closer amity, if entered upon, should be kept secret.[1]

From this time the Regent looked for help across the channel. On the 1st of July the King of Sweden joined the league formed by Francis and some of his soldiers joined the Guelders army. The fear that Marten van Rossem was planning to attack Antwerp was very much increased among the inhabitants by a rumour that he had been seen in the Horse Market—come, no doubt, to spy out the weak points in the defences. The army he had collected is variously estimated at 16,000 to 19,000 men. He began to move in the last days of June, and after some preliminary marches entered Brabant on the 15th of July. He crossed the Meuse near Ravestein and burnt and pillaged the Mayoralty of Bois-le-Duc in his usual manner of warfare ; news of his coming being brought to Antwerp by wretched peasants fleeing thither from their burning homes ; and without opposition he invested the Castle of Hoogstraeten, the country-seat of the Lalaing family, in which a number of women and children had taken refuge. The place surrendered at once on condition that the lives and goods of the occupants were spared, and he carried off certain pieces of artillery he found in it.

The extent of the plot against the Habsburgs had now become manifest, for the French had invaded Luxemburg and Artois, while Christian was threatening to disembark troops in Holland. The suddenness of the capture of the Castle of Hoogstraeten inspired the people of Antwerp with misgivings as to the strength of the town. The Magistrates knew that van Rossem relied on treachery within to procure its surrender and took further precautions for its defence. They sent to Breda asking for assistance, and a force commanded by Réné of Chalons, Prince of Orange, left that town on the 24th of July to cut van Rossem off from Antwerp. On hearing of this from a spy, van Rossem left Hoogstraeten and succeeded in reaching Brasschaet, a village two miles from Antwerp, before his opponent. There, at the junction of the roads from Breda and Hoogstraeten, he waited, keeping the greater part of his force in ambush.[2] Orange was surprised to find the enemy at this spot, but seeing so small a force ordered his lieutenant, Lubert Turck, to charge a body of cavalry which was drawn up across his path. These cavalry retired and drew the rest of Orange's army into the ambush, where the greater part were cut to pieces, so that it was only a

[1] Gairdner, XVII, No. 440.

[2] Henne, VII. See also for the whole of the raid the account given by Servilius, "Geldro Gallica Conjuratio," included in "Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores varii," etc., tome III, 1717.

remnant that escaped with him to Antwerp. He entered the town at about seven o'clock that evening (24th of July).

As van Rossem approached the town and danger became more and more imminent, the Magistrates had taken further steps for defence, and these are worthy of notice. Plans were made for the flooding of the meadows for a mile round the town as a last resort and the farmers were notified that they must bring in their cattle. All were told to arm themselves and the shops of the smiths throughout the town were set busy polishing spears, axes, swords and all other kinds of weapons. Should alarm of fire be given, none were to run to it but certain specified persons. None were to leave the town or remove their goods. If the great bell sounded to summon the men to their posts, the women and children were to stay in their houses. All the booths and stalls put up by tradesmen were to be removed from the streets. A reward was offered for the capture of traitors and spies sent into the town—some of them in women's clothes and other disguises. Masons, carpenters, and labourers were summoned to bring their tools to the Town House to work just outside the town (no doubt at the destruction of buildings too near the walls).

A hint was given to useless idlers not to get into other men's way by standing about in the Market Place open-mouthed with wonder at what was going on.

The price of arms and ammunition was not to be increased. Pails of water were to be put before the doors of houses ready to extinguish fire. Market-gardeners were ordered to bring their produce into the town. A gibbet was put up in the Market Place to punish those who did not obey these commands.[1] Artillery was set in place, the watch at the gates was strengthened, and guards were posted in the towers on the walls and on the open spaces in the town.

Servilius relates that those inhabitants of the town who came from the enemy's country had been foolish enough, when war broke out, to appear pleased and to threaten and boast in the presence of Brabanters, and that some of them would not take the oath of loyalty to the town which the Magistrates required of them—and this, too, although the oath itself was made as palatable as possible for them by a stipulation that it should bind them only during the prevailing crisis. More than a thousand of them preferred to give up their citizenship and return to indigence in their own country. Others left the town threatening that they should soon return with van Rossem, and indeed some went to serve in his army. The Schout searched all the corners of the town, the eating-houses, brothels, etc., where evil men were likely to be hid. All sorts of rumours as to his fate had preceded Orange, and on his arrival he found each man standing in silence at his post. During the night women tended

[1] Ordinances of Magistrates, " Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.

the lanterns which had been hung on the lintels of the house doors to give light lest traitors should steal about. No church or other bells were allowed to ring or clock to chime lest it should serve as a signal for some enterprise by conspirators.

Van Rossem followed up his victory by moving on the same evening to the outskirts of the town, taking up his headquarters at the Castle of Vordenstein near Mercxem, most of his troops lying between Mercxem and Brasschaet. His advance-guard lay in the Pothoek, between Dambrugge and Borgerhout, some hundreds of paces from St. Willebrord's Church, thus menacing the defective part of the wall between the Red and Kipdorp Gates.[1] During the night a man was seen climbing up this part of the wall, and, on being challenged by the guards, he merely swore at them instead of giving an account of himself and was put to death. Also some men were caught attempting to injure the chains of the buckets attached to the wells. No doubt their object was to prevent water being obtained to quench the fire which traitors had planned to raise.

The news of Orange's defeat was brought to the Regent that night as she lay at Mechlin, and she immediately ordered troops to advance against van Rossem from Holland and Namur. The raid into Brabant seems to have been quite unexpected by her, and the disposition of troops which she had made was entirely with a view to protecting Holland and the French frontier. The Schout, William van der Werve, went the rounds all night, looking to the defences and exhorting the burghers to defend the town to the uttermost against such a murderer and robber as van Rossem. When the day of the 25th of July broke it was seen that van Rossem's men were spread over the whole plain, pillaging and burning. A fierce cannonade was opened on such of them as tried to gain entrance to St. Willebrord's Church, for it was a strong building with towers which would have enabled them to obtain a full view of what was going on in the town. The church was much damaged, but the enemy were kept at a distance. Since all the men were employed on the walls or elsewhere the Magistrates ordered the women and girls to bring baskets and mattocks to make an earthwork to strengthen the wall, and this they completed in a few hours. Ways were made through gardens and courtyards to facilitate access to the walls at every point. The women tore up paving-stones from the streets and placed them in readiness to be thrown from the walls. They prepared tarred hoops to be set on fire and thrown blazing round an enemy's neck. The Magistrates ordered that the price of meat, butter, cheese, and bread should not be raised for the defenders of the town, and great efforts were made to remedy the defective defences at the Kroonenburg Gate.

[1] M. & T., IV.

On his arrival before Antwerp van Rossem had displayed the Standard of France, and it was in the names of the Kings of France and Denmark that on the next day he summoned the town to surrender. Orange answered the herald that by the common consent of the Broad Council and the people the town would recognize no Sovereign but the Emperor. The herald retorted that the Emperor had long ago been eaten up by fishes, on his way to Algiers; to which the Antwerpers answered that like Jonah he would re-appear on the third day and would outlive the Kings of France and Denmark. Also they refused to recognize van Rossem as the general of two great princes and said he was rather the leader of a band of robbers and incendiaries. They advised the herald to depart and not to return unless he desired a hanging. The rest of the day was spent on both sides in reconnoitring, the defenders being too few to fight outside the walls, and van Rossem being deficient in siege-artillery, and no doubt waiting for some treachery in the town. The Magistrates had sent urgent messages for reinforcements and contingents arrived from time to time, including 1,200 countrymen from Flanders of gigantic stature who entered the town on the 26th by crossing the Scheldt. They had brought no weapons with them, but each was armed in the Market Place. On the same day the Magistrates ordered special precautions to be taken against fire, and they decreed that all who were not fighting, or working on the walls, should go to the Red Gate with spades and baskets to work there. Those who had not got a spade or basket were to go to the Herring Canal and carry all the wooden beams lying there to the Red Gate, and the owners of them were told they would be hanged if they interfered.

On this day two traitors who were accused of wishing to fire the town were quartered and their remains were hung on the gates to discourage the besiegers.[1] No steps had been actually taken to cut the dykes for the protection of the town, that being a course adopted with great reluctance and looked upon as a last resort. The meaner dwellings and buildings round the walls had been destroyed at van Rossem's approach, lest they should provide "cover" for the enemy, but the more important houses had been spared. On the night of the 26th these were set on fire by the besieged—the Nuns, between St. George's and the Kipdorp Gates, and the Beguinage.

This caused many to murmur that it was better to surrender the town than suffer such loss, but the Magistrates quieted them saying that on Antwerp depended not only the safety of Brabant and Flanders but also that of the Empire. Apparently the burghers were induced to think that van Rossem had burnt

[1] "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert. These may have been those arrested two nights before.

these buildings as he did the villages of Deurne, Borgerhout, Waelhem, Duffel, and a number of houses and mills. But van Rossem, disappointed at the failure of his friends in the town to set it on fire, and unable to take it by assault, had decided to abandon the siege.

On the 27th he ordered a great noise to be made with drums and trumpets as if the assault was being sounded. The burghers on guard at the Kroonenburg Gate hearing this demanded of the Magistrates that the Carthusian Monastery at Kiel should be destroyed, for van Rossem might get possession of it and it was so strong that they would not be able to dislodge him. They backed up their request with a threat to leave the walls if it was not granted, saying that the monks must make a sacrifice similar to that made by the nuns. It was accordingly burnt down. During the following night the burghers on the wall between the Red and Kipdorp Gates heard the sound of men and horses moving and gave the alarm. Cannon were discharged in the direction from which the noise came and a rumour spread that the enemy had seized the wall between the Red Gate and the Mud Gate. The great bell sounded and men were moved in that direction, while the Military Guilds mustered on the Market Place. When day broke it was seen that the enemy were not moving against the town but were in retreat, burning as they went.[1]

On the 29th of July two more traitors were hanged and quartered and others on the 8th and 10th of August; also a prisoner revealed, or was reported to have revealed, that he and fourteen companions had conspired to set fire to churches and other buildings and so create a panic, but no such traitors seem to have been punished. The danger was not yet entirely past, and for some days measures were taken to preserve the inhabitants from the danger offered by bands of the enemy near the town and treachery by fire-raising within. On the 12th of August the Procession of Our Lady was held as usual and by the 26th of the month the danger was so far over that soldiers were leaving the town. News of van Rossem's invasion created a great stir in London, for the merchants there knew better than the Regent did how weak were the walls. The English merchants had in the town 700,000 or 800,000 crowns' worth of property at the time and the owners of it threatened to recoup themselves from French subjects in England if they lost it, and Henry was petitioned to send ships to save the merchandise and assist the town. This Henry refused to do. Unfortunately the Courtmaster of the Merchant Adventurers Company had not exhibited that courage which the men of Antwerp had admired in his fellow-countrymen, and in the Portuguese, Italians, and

[1] No. 750 in the Antwerp Picture Gallery shows the scene.

Germans, for he left the town to save himself. For this Henry threw him into prison.[1]

Van Rossem's coming had inspired Brabant with great terror: it was so long since a foreign foe had been seen before their gates that the Antwerpers had been lulled into a false sense of security from which they were roughly aroused when he moved on the town so suddenly. The reputation of this Guelders marshal for barbarity was not undeserved, for burning villages and homesteads had always shown the path his army had taken; and for a long time afterwards simple folk would date an event as having happened so many years after van Rossem came. He was of noble ancestry, born in 1478 in Zalt-Bommel,[2] and had passed his life in the service of Charles of Egmont, making head on his behalf against Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands, and becoming notorious in this capacity, and he passed into the service of William of Cleves when his old master died. So fond was he of a fight that, so it was said, in battle his moustaches stood on end, but his swashbuckling and marauding proclivities did not cheat him of general recognition as one of the best soldiers of the day; and when William of Cleves became reconciled with the Emperor he passed into the latter's service, and by a curious sequence of events it was at Antwerp that he died in 1555, having been taken ill whilst on a campaign against France. On retiring from before Antwerp van Rossem made towards Lierre, burning and devastating on his way through fields and orchards almost ripe for harvest, but being met by a force under Boussu he turned towards Duffel, crossing the river there, and, passing by Mechlin, Louvain, Diest, Tirlemont, he crossed the Sambre at Châtelet and joined the French under the Duke of Orleans before Yvoy.[3] After taking Yvoy Orleans made towards Luxemburg, which he conquered in two months, and in September returned to France leaving only a small force under Guise, whereupon many of van Rossem's men left him, complaining of Orleans' action, only to be killed in the Ardennes on the way home.

Throughout the autumn fighting went on in the possessions of the Duke of Cleves, in Luxemburg, and on the French border. Van Rossem retreated to Juliers, and throughout the winter it was feared that he might again invade Brabant. In the spring the Regent sent a fresh army into Juliers which kept the enemy occupied until Charles came and invaded William's possessions with an army of Italians and Germans. He laid siege to and captured Duren, one of the most important fortresses belonging to the Duke of Cleves, and then town after town in Guelders fell to him. Peace was made by the Treaty of Venloo (7th of

[1] Gairdner, XVII, Nos. 559, 586.
[2] Pape, "De Levens-Geschiedenis van Maarten van Rossem," 1847.
[3] Henne, VII and VIII.

September, 1543), by which William renounced the Duchy of Guelders and the County of Zutphen, thus putting an end to the long war and bringing the Provinces up to the number of seventeen. Peace with Christian III of Denmark was made by the Peace of Spire (23rd of May, 1544), which restored commerce to Antwerp, but war continued with France until the Peace of Crespy (18th of September, 1544). There was great discontent in Antwerp even after peace was made. It was feared that war would soon break out again, and men failed to see what profit to themselves arose out of the ruin of their business. The year 1544 ended with a biting winter, when wine froze in the barrels and was sold by weight. So great was the scarcity that the Regent forbade export of wheat and took account of all to be found in the country.

No description of Antwerp and its inhabitants at this time should omit a reference to Anna Bijns, the Flemish poetess, who stands alone as a popular writer in the first half of the sixteenth century. She was the daughter of a stocking-maker and was born in a house called the *Baby Wolf*, on the Market Place (now number 46), at the end of 1493.[1] After her father's death her mother took her to live at the house called *Patience*, in Kaiser's Street, and there her younger brother opened a school for boys and girls in which she probably taught. About 1517 she began to write songs (Refereinen), and the first edition was published in 1528 by Jacob van Liesvelt, at the *Shield of Artois* in Brewers' Street, and met with immediate success. These poems were launched against the Lutheran doctrines, and nearly all her works were sung in praise of God, the Pope, and the heads of the Church, her best work being called forth by the horror she felt at the rise and spread of the new doctrines, which she blamed for all the ills which were characteristic of the century.

In 1536 her brother married and she moved to the *Gridiron* (Het Rooster) in the same street and opened a school of her own. She was not herself a member of any of the Chambers of Rhetoric, but her songs were often sung and repeated at their meetings. She died in 1575 at the age of eighty-two and was buried in the Church of Our Lady.

Her work would hardly appeal to anyone now excepting her own countrymen, but it is described as being correct, harmonious, and poetic, and she is thought to have excelled the poets of her time in expression, verve, and purity of language. During her life she was famous at home and abroad and she had great influence over men and women. Some absurdly spoke of her as the Sappho of Brabant.

[1] "Biographie Nationale de Belgique": article by F. Snellaert; and Moke, "Histoire de la Littérature Flamande." F. Jos. van den Branden, "Anna Bijns," etc., 1911.

In 1540 William van Zuylen van Myvelt published a collection of the Psalms of David, which were set to well-known airs. These became very popular—six editions appearing at Antwerp in the first year—and at a later date they formed an important part of the Protestant service.

CHAPTER XI

THE ENLARGING, REBUILDING, AND REFORTIFYING OF THE TOWN —GILBERT VAN SCHOONBEKE

THE danger to which the town had been exposed at the time of Van Rossem's raid had pointed out the need for the immediate construction of new fortifications, and for the carrying out of the plans already made for girding the town with a wall of greater amplitude. The old wall was low, and having been built so long before as 1410 had been rendered entirely obsolete by the improvements made in artillery during the last hundred years. The Nuns, the Beguinage and many other buildings destroyed at van Rossem's coming had to be rebuilt, and an opportunity presented itself of setting them within the town. The population had increased greatly during Mary's Regency and it was decided to embrace about 4,000 roods of fresh ground. Work on the walls was begun at once. The tower and church of St. Willebrord's had been wrecked during the short siege and they were now demolished and the stone used for a fortification to protect the Kipdorp Gate. The rebuilding of this gate together with St. George's and the Red Gates was soon under way. The old town walls had been little more than a palisade protected by towers, but the plans of Donato Buono Pellizuoli, already drawn when van Rossem appeared, provided for high walls with strong gates protected by bastions. The new wall followed a line slightly ampler than the old, and it was ordered that no buildings or trees should be allowed to stand near to it either within or without.

The Blue Tower, which had been rebuilt in the beginning of the century, and the tower named after the Tanners were left standing back from the new wall, the former coming later to serve usefully as a hall of dissection. From the Kroonenburg Tower the new wall ran to the Red Gate and there embraced the vacant space of ground on which it was planned to build an entire new quarter which became known as the New Town. The wall thus ran more or less along the present Kroonenburg Street and came to St. George's Gate. Thence it ran along the Avenue des Arts and the Avenue du Commerce to the Kipdorp and Red Gates and thence along the Anchor Canal, the Old

Lions Canal, and the Brewers' Canal, as far as the Schyn and the Kattendyke and to the Scheldt.[1] The five massive new gates in Doric style were almost on the sites of their predecessors. The new St. George's Gate was exceedingly fine. It was fifty feet high and eighty wide and adorned with elegant sculpture. In 1545 it was completed, and Charles, first of all mortals, rode through it, and it was afterwards called the Imperial Gate. The Kipdorp Gate was almost as beautiful as the last and was built at the same time. Although the new fortifications were much admired many were sorry to see the old gates demolished. The moat which surrounded the walls was always full of water, supplied partly by springs, but chiefly by the river, being brought in by means of certain machinery devised by Donato.

The work of building the actual walls went slowly until taken up by a remarkable man named Gilbert van Schoonbeke, who has been called the Haussmann of Antwerp ; and indeed he did transform the town, modernizing and beautifying it in a way undreamt of before he set himself to the task. As for the fortifications, he could contract in 1551 to build them at a very much cheaper rate than anyone else could do. This was because he dealt in a very large way of business, and because he had obtained concessions which enabled him to procure cheap materials. From the Emperor he obtained leave to cut timber in the royal forest of Buggenhout and also to use two old houses on the Meuse near Namur for the making of cement and mortar, which were brought by waterways to Antwerp. The Abbot of St. Bernard's sold him some twenty acres of land on the Scheldt, on which he set up brick-kilns, fed with turf from Sevenbergen. The stone used for the walls was the beautiful white marble of Nivelles and it was considered that no city in Europe had fortifications which were so beautiful to look upon.

But the building of these defences entailed enormous cost and the town heaped up a load of debt from which it could never get free. The total expenditure amounted to nearly 1,000,000 gold crowns.[2] To meet this the Broad Council decided to sell the land which belonged to the town and the fee for purchase of right of citizenship was raised from three florins to twelve. Besides this a tax was put upon wine and meat.[3] Also the excise on foreign beer was increased by two stivers on each cask, and ecclesiastics had to pay duty on the beer they brewed, so that people said " Marten van Rossem brought it about that priests and monks must pay excise." [4] To judge of the weight of taxation it must be borne in mind that during these years an Imperial tax was granted year after year of the

[1] Génard, II.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Ordinances of Magistrates, " Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[4] " Merten van Rossem heeft bedreven. Dat papen ende monicken accyse moeten geven," " Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert, p. 115.

tenth penny to be paid by the owner of lands, houses and other real property, and of the twentieth penny to be paid by the tenant. Charles permitted the portion of this tax which was paid by Antwerp to be applied to the building of the fortifications. Even this was not enough, and loans had to be floated. The fortifications took some twenty-five years to complete. The new convents for the Nuns and Beguines were erected within the town, the former in the Long New Street and the latter just inside the Red Gate, but the Carthusian monks were not allowed to come into the town and they retired to Lierre, laying the first stone of their new monastery in August 1543. They had got into debt and in 1540 had sold the lordship of Kiel to the town.

Soon the Cellites (Alexians) became next-door neighbours of the Nuns, for they abandoned their old cloister on the Egg Market and went into a beautiful new building in the Long New Street. But we must return to the man who was transforming the town of narrow streets into one of boulevards and palaces worthy of its rich inhabitants, and notable as a wonder of the world. Gilbert van Schoonbeke was born in Antwerp in 1519, the illegitimate son of Gilbert van Schoonbeke or Beaurieu, and Beatrice van der Veken. In early years he made it his business to buy land and houses and sell them again, and to farm tolls and excise. When the rebuilding of Antwerp was begun it was he who urged the Magistrates to enlarge the town on the north side after plans drawn by Donato Buoni Pellizuoli, and who persuaded them to buy land for the town with this object. He advanced money for the scheme and took land in pledge for it. The laying out of the New Town involved not only the destruction of the old wall and the building of a new one, but also the making of canals with wharfs, sluices, and bridges. This work van Schoonbeke undertook, and when his improvements were completed there were eight canals large enough to permit great vessels laden with merchandise to pass from the river into the heart of the town. Up to this time many sites had been unoccupied, or at all events not put to their full use, and these van Schoonbeke bought up and on them he built broad streets of good houses, sometimes with gardens or trees in front of them, re-selling them at a great profit. His first great enterprise of this sort was the buying of a piece of vacant land called " the Raemhof " and the turning of it into the Street of the Kings, running behind the House of Lierre to the Ox-Market.

The Street of the Kings was so called because the houses in it were named after Kings mentioned in the Bible or by tradition—David, Solomon, Balthazar, Melchior, Gaspar—and is the present Street of the Blind, Prince's Street, and Hoboken Street. This was a pleasant way of naming houses and was

often made use of at Antwerp. So the Street of the Twelve Months and the Street of the Israelites were called from houses named after the months and after Hebrews of old days. Van Schoonbeke then bought a vacant piece of ground called "the Hop-Field" and built a fine long street called Ship Street, but named Dirt Street (Vuilnis Straet) by the people—the present Otto Vaenius Street. On the site of the Old Lombard, where the Lombard Bankers had carried on their business, he built Lombards' Street, behind the present Hôtel St. Antoine. From the Abbot of Baudeloo he bought the Abbey's Refuge or town-house and built Israelites Street on the site. He bought the grounds of the van Spangen family and made the Friday Market (on which old clothes were sold) and several fine streets. He bought from the town the great wooden storehouse named the Eeckhof between the Franciscans' Cloister and the place where Klapdorp and the Horse-Market meet. Here he built the great new Weigh-House with a great chamber above it to be let for wedding-feasts, and many good houses. He built a new stone Eeckhof close to St. Michael's Abbey.

In 1552 the Crossbowmen and the Archers moved and sold their old ground to van Schoonbeke, and on it and on Arenberg House, which likewise passed into his possession, he built the Tapestry Pand by the Grain Market and several streets round it. Until this time tapestry had been sold in a Pand which stood by the choir of the Dominicans' Church (where the Calvary is now), but at the rebuilding of the church, which was undertaken at this time, it was decided to set about this construction in the newer part of the town. The present French theatre is on the site of van Schoonbeke's Pand. He bought from the Margrave (of the Land of Ryen), William van der Werve, his house named Ter Beke, and planned several fine streets, including Margrave Lei or Margrave's Avenue, and sold the plots conditionally on the buyer planting trees in front of them. Altogether he planned over 2,000 houses, and therefore, seeing that he was at the same time engaged on the fortifications, he certainly deserved to be called the rebuilder of Antwerp. The old town round the ruined Burg was left untouched, and the narrow, twisting streets remained to please those who regarded van Schoonbeke as a reckless modernizer.

Perhaps the new images of the Virgin and the Saints which marked the corners of the new streets were not agreeable to those who had learnt to love the earlier work of the Flemish sculptors, and probably the bas-reliefs in semi-Italian style which decorated the façades of the new buildings were sneered at by those who did not know that at the moment the state of all art in the town was one of transition and not of decline. At all events hygiene, luxury, and cleanliness seem to have been on the side

of van Schoonbeke and his coadjutors. This description does not exhaust van Schoonbeke's efforts in the old town, but his chief work was in the new, for here arose a new quarter ; though, unfortunately, his scheme for its development involved him in unpopularity and ruin. The land had not sold well at first (perhaps the Placard of 1550, threatening the Inquisition, may have had something to do with that), and so Gilbert conceived the idea of moving thither the brewing industry—or rather of establishing breweries there in opposition to those which had hitherto worked in Brewers' Street.

By March 1554, the first ten breweries were finished and let to brewers who turned out very good beer, but their rivals in Brewers' Street set the report about that it was made of bad water and was unwholesome. The water of the New Town was admittedly bad and van Schoonbeke had planned to bring water from Herenthals Canal by a conduit running from St. George's Gate to a Water-House which he had built in the centre of the breweries. The Water-House (24 rue des Brasseurs) was always considered a work of art by the Antwerpers and to have combined a clever engineering plan with beauty of construction. A row of buckets working like a steam-dredger carried the water to a cistern on the top story, whence it descended to the breweries. However, the Water-House was not completed when the breweries began to work and the water actually used was brought in boats from Rumpst, but his enemies, who were not slow to seize the opportunity of turning the incident to their advantage, were given a chance of stirring up the people against van Schoonbeke. The riots which resulted concern rather the life of the people than the expansion of the town, but they caused the flight of van Schoonbeke and put an end to his schemes.

The wholesale rebuilding which was in progress was at one time almost brought to a standstill by the scarcity of labour; and in 1549 Charles authorized everyone to sell building materials and to work as a mason or carpenter irrespective of his being inscribed to the guild.[1] In 1552 the Magistrates ordered that vagabonds and beggars who had been sentenced for crime to this form of hard labour should have iron rings placed round their necks with the " Hand " of Antwerp stamped on them, so that they should be known if (as apparently often occurred), they ran away before their sentence was worked out.[2]

It would be tedious to describe all the alterations made in the town during the last fifteen years of Mary's Regency by van Schoonbeke and his fellow-workers. The town was gradually given the magnificence which wrung such praise from Guicciardini and other foreigners who saw it at the height of its

[1] M. & T., IV, 102.
[2] Ordinances of Magistrates, " Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.

prosperity. When the new walls were completed the circumference of the town was some 5,000 Antwerp paces (each of five Roman feet), its length 1,600 such paces and its breadth 844. Besides the quays and canals made by van Schoonbeke in the New Town, and besides his Weigh-House and his Pand and other improvements made in answer to the public needs, certain plans were carried out by the Magistrates and other bodies for the public good. The Vierschare was rebuilt in Renaissance style: a large yard was established for the tanners and hide-merchants of Amsterdam in a quarter named the Leguit at the end of Klapdorp: new powder-mills were erected outside the Mud Gate. The old wooden Town House was recognized as unsafe, and the Magistrates had decided to rebuild it, but on the approach of van Rossem the stone brought for its construction was made use of to repair and strengthen the fortifications, and so much delay occurred afterwards that the Renaissance had entirely mastered native architects when it was begun (1560).

The damage done in the Church of Our Lady in 1533 was soon repaired, but the scheme for the rebuilding was not proceeded with. In 1535 a new cupola was completed, in the dome of which Gummarus van Neerbroeck painted a figure of Christ, while on the top of it Adrian Michiels put a figure of Him, and at the same time a new altar to the Virgin was consecrated. In 1537 the Fuggers put up a window in the nave, choosing the Conversion of St. Paul for the subject. A clock was put in the Tower having two dials with a circumference of twenty-two feet, and new chimes were put in to take the place of the contrivance made by Master Jean de Buckele and Master Jean of Antwerp in 1486-7. Another great improvement in the church was the setting up of a beautiful bronze crucifix above the rood-screen. At the foot of it stood the Virgin and St. John and the two thieves hung on crosses on each side, and into the ear of the unrepentant one whispered a bronze demon which was suspended from the roof.[1]

A new crane on the Wharf to facilitate the unloading of ships, a new Leper-House in the New Town, and a new Foundling Hospital built in Renaissance style in the Long Hospital Street, were public improvements much appreciated and duly noted by the chroniclers. The Hospital was an institution which met with the approval of van Schoonbeke and his wife and experienced their generosity.

Pointed style did not die with Dominic de Waghemakere in 1542, and Renaissance architecture was slow in gaining a foothold. The New Bourse and the Dominicans' Church were the last important buildings in pointed, but such signs of Italian

[1] This group was destroyed by the Calvinist rioters in 1566.

Renaissance as appeared in buildings were usually to be found in decoration and ornamentation only. The full Renaissance style was not the general rule until Philip's reign. The first building which showed the influence of Italian Renaissance seems to have been the Masons' Guild-House erected on the Cheese Canal in 1531.[1]

In 1541 an important change was made in the town when the old Meer Gate was demolished and the Meer itself vaulted over from the Cross which stood close to the end of Tanners' Street as far as the corner of the street which ran by the Convent of the Poor Sisters of St. Clara, and on the large space thus afforded (which is to-day the Place de Meire or Meer Place) markets were held for a time. The vaulting-over of canals not only turned them into fine streets but had become a work of necessity owing to the stench which rose from them and poisoned the air at the very foot of the dwellings. In the early part of the sixteenth century there were as many as seventy bridges joining streets severed by water-courses—which impeded the transit of wagons; and the work of levelling the roadways became as necessary for the future of Antwerp as the erection of the fortifications. Stone houses were taking the place of those of mud, wood, and clay, and after a disastrous fire in 1546 which originated in a chemist's shop and destroyed a score of buildings near the New Bourse the Magistrates forbade the further erection or renewal of those wooden façades which were so picturesque. Even in the early sixteenth century private houses had small low-pitched and badly lighted rooms with steep stairs and narrow passages. The walls had hitherto been thin and the general arrangements insanitary. Pigs, the scavengers, overran the town up to the time of van Schoonbeke.

The house built by the Treasurer of the town, William de Moelenere, in 1544, on St. James's Market, is worthy of mention. It was named the *Big Fool* (De Groote Zot). When the house was finished the Treasurer conveyed it to his son, who entrusted the decoration of the interior to Peter Coecke of Alost.[2] The rooms were adorned with chimney-pieces richly carved and coloured, the walls were hung with tapestry or leather, the ceilings were painted, and the windows filled with coloured glass. Indeed, colour was the keynote of the whole. The influence of the Renaissance made itself apparent in the statues and figures which beautified the gardens, courtyards, and galleries. Here were to be seen the chimney-pieces now in the skepyns' room in the Town House and in the Museum of Antiquities, and the carved wooden bas-reliefs and caryatides also in the latter.

[1] Burnt in 1562.

[2] Génard, "Notice sur l'hôtel de Moelenere et van Dale à Anvers," *Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie*, year 8, 1869.

Scenes from Scripture—the Last Supper, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Brazen Serpent, the Crucifixion—give interest to the mantelpiece in the Town House, and these were set off by caryatides, figures of angels, and floral decorations.

All this carving has been attributed to Coecke, but it is very doubtful as regards the chimney-pieces. Examples of this kind of work are not very common, but are to be found at South Kensington as well as in the Museum at Antwerp. Without exhibiting the imagination and good taste of Italian work they possess an air of grandeur which, with their original polychrome or gilt, would have given an effect of refined luxury and ease to the houses of those rich enough to possess them. The Antwerpers were themselves makers of furniture which was luxurious and solid, and there was enough of it to furnish the houses of the rich in the town and to be exported in great quantities to England. The rich could buy all they required for furnishing in Antwerp—the famous Flemish tapestry; carpets from Valladolid; chairs covered with black Genoa velvet; embroidered cloths; the work of gold- and silver-smiths, and of jewellers. If the connoisseur did not care for the painter's and sculptor's art of the moment, fine works by the older Flemish masters could be obtained. Taffetas would be needed to curtain the bed-chambers; dogs, marmots, and parrots would be bought to give amusement in an idle hour. If the rich man's wardrobe was examined and that of his wife, they would be found to contain more velvet and brocade, silk and satin, fur and lace than was dreamt of in Burgundian times, and sumptuary laws did nothing to lessen the spread of luxurious living. All these things came to Antwerp or were made there, and those needing them made search for them in the counters of those who traded in the wares of every part of the world.

Writing about 1549, when the rebuilding was well in hand, a Spaniard who had visited Antwerp wrote a description of the town as it was at that time.[1] The wall and moat of the old Burg, he tells us, still existed, and the latter was used by ships. The streets were broad and long. The houses were fine new ones of brick and stone. The work on the town walls was still in progress and their strength and height, together with the wide and deep moat, were expected to render the town impregnable. Already two canals brought ships laden with merchandise into the very heart of the New Town. The whole town was splendid to look upon from every side, and by whatever street one entered one passed something to admire, but the most pleasing impression of all was that made by the sight of such great abundance and such wealth, of such a quantity of merchandise of every kind with which the vessels were laden as

[1] Calvete de Estrella, IV.

they lay waiting to sail to all parts of the world. One was offered a magnificent view from the ramparts over the plain made glorious by green fields, by villages, by trees. Altogether a magnificent sight and none the worse for the splendid cannon arranged on the wall in readiness for the day on which an enemy might again appear in arms before the town.

CHAPTER XII

THE PAINTERS IN THE MANNER OF BLES—THE PAINTERS OF BURGHER-PICTURES AND GENRE—THE FOLLOWERS OF QUENTIN METSYS—OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GUILD OF ST. LUKE DURING MARY'S REGENCY

WHILE speaking of the *Adoration of the Magi* by Mabuse, now in the National Gallery, it was remarked that this noble picture became a starting-point from which came a number of works probably painted at Antwerp. An *Adoration of the Magi* in the Old Pinakothek at Munich is one of the inferior members of this group. In arrangement it has something in common with Mabuse's picture, but the author has failed miserably in the points which render the other a masterpiece. The only interest in the Munich picture therefore lies in the fact that it is signed " Henricus Blesius." The signature has led many to attribute this picture, together with many others, to Henri met de Bles. This group of paintings includes the *Beheading of John the Baptist* at Berlin, the *Adoration of the Magi* at Antwerp, and a number of similar works. With the addition of pictures by kindred painters the group has come to be known as that of Bles or the Pseudo-Bles. The pictures vary greatly in perfection, but few of them are very good, while many are hardly worthy of notice. The *Adoration of the Magi* —with one king having a coal-black complexion—was the subject most commonly chosen by the group. Most of these paintings seem to have been Antwerp work between the years 1520 and 1550. These painters massed together architecture of various styles as a background—part of it usually in ruins—and loaded the figures with drapery, often costly and richly embroidered. Sometimes goblets or caskets of fine goldsmith's work were placed in the hands of the adoring kings. Rarely, however, is the grouping well done, and rarely do the figures please the eye. The subject of the *Adoration of the Magi* gave an excuse for the pretentious setting desired by these painters, and was always popular near Cologne, where the relics of the Magi were treasured. In some pictures by this group of painters we might think we looked on another Queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon rather than the story of the Epiphany. These

pictures depart from the old Flemish tradition and few introduce a single good quality of a different style.

The existence of the group of pictures makes it convenient that a name should be attached to it, but the picture at Munich does not correspond with the description given of Bles' work by Van Mander, and the signature there found is the only warrant for this sweeping attribution.[1] It is very likely that the signature is not genuine and that Bles did not paint any such pictures. All we know of him is what we learn from Van Mander, who admits that he knew little of him, but says he has seen many of his pictures, which were mostly landscapes in which trees, rocks, and towns were scattered about peopled by numerous figures, and that he was called by the Italians the Master " of the Owl " (Civetta), because it was his habit to introduce a little owl, which it was so difficult to discover that men would bet as to who would find it first. He was called Henri or Herri met de Bles by his fellow-countrymen because a tuft of white hair (bles) grew over his forehead. Van Mander adds that he was born at Bouvignes on the Meuse. From what Van Mander says it seems more likely that this painter was responsible for another group of pictures, including a small landscape in the Dresden Gallery, in the foreground of which a number of monkeys are robbing two sleeping travellers. The owl is in the centre of the picture. In a picture in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna St. Jerome sits in the foreground of a landscape and the owl appears in two places. The painter seems usually to have preferred rocky scenery with a stream running through it, the whole being of a rather brown hue and less green than those by Patinir.

In the gallery at Budapest is a mountainous landscape, with men working at a forge in the foreground, in which the owl appears. This is a scene he repeated, one example being in the Liechtenstein Collection at Vienna. In the Academy at Vienna are two pictures of the Passion, in both of which the owl appears. The best of these two in every way answers Van Mander's description of this painter's work, both as regards the landscape and the numerous figures. The painter seems to have taken much trouble about the rendering of the sky, but has not often achieved success. A sixth picture, in the Gallery at Lille, shows the owl, but the picture is a poor one, and others are to be found at Brussels and in other collections. In the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, in the Rudolphinum at Prague and elsewhere are to be found pictures which appear to be by the same hand, but in some of them the owl is far to seek, if there at all. All his landscapes have much in common with those of Patinir. Perhaps Bles was really that Henri de Patinir who became free of the Guild in 1535, and if so perhaps he was a

[1] Catalogues of the Antwerp Gallery (1911) and of the Brussels Gallery (1908).

relation of Joachim's, for both came from the Meuse Valley, and perhaps from the same town, in which case he may have imitated the relation who was famous as a landscape painter. But we are left to solve another question. How did these landscapes, answering as they do Van Mander's description, become popular with the Italians? They were purely Flemish in style and represented the rugged mountains and jagged rocks already introduced into backgrounds by Antwerp painters.

The historical or religious pictures attributed to Bles and his followers were more influenced than these landscapes by Italian methods, but they had not yet lost their kinship with the Bruges School. The Italian manner is discernible in the ornaments, in the architectural backgrounds, in the animation given to the figures, and in the grouping of crowds more complex than before. The achievements of these Antwerp painters were at their worst but a badly conceived exaggeration of the better works of Jerome Bosch, Mabuse, Josse of Cleves, Goosen van der Weyden. One might even say that Quentin Metsys was not wholly free from this style, but he was too much of a Fleming to be overcome by it, and the most vigorous part of his own work, and that which was most natural to him, was that on which was founded a class of burgher- or genre-pictures, painted by pupils and followers of much less calibre than he. The very earliest work of the Flemish painters shows that genre was always favoured by the school. Scenes of the birth of the Virgin were laid in the bedrooms of burghers' houses. St. Giles in his cell was really a merchant in his counter, and the straining forms of the executioners who put the martyrs to death were those men who did manual labour in the towns devoted to commerce and industry. A few scenes painted by early Flemings which are purely genre may be recalled—St. Joseph making mouse-traps in the *Mérode Triptych* by the Master of Flémalle; some of the scenes from the *Life of St. Bertin* at Berlin attributed to Simon Marmion; the *Birth of John the Baptist* at Berlin by Roger van der Weyden (the Virgin has, however, a halo); *St. Giles* in the Oppenheim Collection at Cologne by Petrus Christus (he also has a halo).

At the time Quentin began to work it was becoming the fashion to paint larger pictures than before, since houses were then being constructed on a larger scale.

The masterpiece of Hugo van der Goes in the Uffizi—a large picture for a Fleming to have painted at that period—presented figures of shepherds of such a size as to make their presence felt more keenly than were the less obtrusive forms of these same poor men in the picture of Dijon painted by the Master of Flémalle or the cripple in David's *Canon and Saints* in the National Gallery. Such rough men as had found their way hitherto into the chief scenes had been bad men whose business

it had been to distress Christ or his followers, and not such as could or should call for any sympathy in the spectator. The question may well have been asked, Were these common fellows to be brought out of the background of pictures to vie with princes and ecclesiastics for admiration? In the future was the *Adoration of the Shepherds* to be more popular than the *Adoration of the Kings*? Quentin Metsys and his followers between them painted all sorts and conditions of men. Those who painted in the style called after Bles never painted even the bourgeoisie as such, but according to the old custom would let the buyer of a picture see himself as Gaspar, Melchior, or Balthazar; they knew nothing of the poorer classes except executioners or those servants who swelled a prince's train. There was good excuse for introducing a man of toil if he was to pile fuel beneath a cauldron in which a saint was kneeling or in some way to cause a good man's death, but otherwise there was, they thought, no place in art for him. Oddly enough the *Adoration of the Shepherds* went rather out of favour as a subject after Hugo's death, even among the followers of Metsys. Albert Bouts made use of it, and the picture is in the Antwerp Gallery. It is obviously inspired by Hugo's work, but the men he has dressed in shepherds' clothes are such dreamers that one cannot believe they would have kept a flock together for a day. They were shepherds of souls, if pastors at all, and much the same remark applies to David's picture at Budapest.

When Bosch painted the *Adoration of the Kings* he often made some peasants (the shepherds) peep at the scene from the roof of the shanty in which the Holy Family lodged, but they were unimportant figures. Yet Bosch was the first to make a picture out of a peasant which was true to life and yet of a pleasing nature, and both of the two great branches of the Antwerp painters of the first half of the sixteenth century—(1) those who painted the Adoration of the Kings and other religious scenes in the Bles style, and (2) the painters of burgher-pictures—found in him a forerunner. At any time during the reign of Charles a would-be buyer of a picture commissioned one of the "Bles" painters if he needed a scene from Scripture (and such pictures were exported in scores) and one of the followers of Quentin if he wanted a representation of scenes familiar to him in daily life—persons in a counting-house, a shop, a brothel, a kitchen, or gathered in a crowd in a street. Most of the followers of Quentin spent the greater part of their lives at Antwerp. They have recently had a good word spoken for them by Heer Pol de Mont, who has shown how often scenes which Brueghel painted were copied from those evolved by his predecessors.[1] It is not right to regard these men as painters who merely supplied

[1] Elsevier's *Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, January and February, 1903.

ANTWERP GENRE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. THE THIEF AND THE OLD MAN

FROM THE PAINTING BY QUENTIN METSYS, OR ONE OF HIS FOLLOWERS, IN THE POURTALÈS COLLECTION IN PARIS

the demand for pictures during the years which lay between the early school and that of Rubens. They were certainly transitional painters, but for the most part they cherished and developed the old tradition, rather than strove to bring a new thing from beyond the Alps as did Peter Coecke, Lambert Lombard, Franz Floris, Otto Vænius and others.

The early miniature-painters, as well as van Eyck, van der Weyden, Memling, and Bouts, had been able at times to inspire the domestic scenes in which they delighted with such a mystical sense that their true genre nature was not evident, but this treatment of such scenes had been worked out and exhausted by the time the sixteenth century dawned, and the decay of the purely religious view of life which was furthered by the new doctrines caused painters to fall back on the domestic scene stripped of its religious garb. It is remarkable, however, how slowly this change came about, and how loath the painters were to give up altogether the scriptural appellation of their work. Was it that they felt they were relinquishing the post of priest of the handmaiden of the Church, or was it difficult to sell a picture which did not take its name from a well-known scene from the Bible or Church tradition? The introduction of a few figures in the background could turn a crowded market of poultry or vegetables into a scene of Christ presented by Pilate to the people; the interior of a brothel into a scene of one of the adventures of the Prodigal Son; or the interior of a kitchen into the house of Martha and Mary. These painters were little affected by the work of the Italians and remained mainly Flemish. While they worked in accordance with old Flemish tradition some of their confrères had become overwhelmed by the Italian manner and, failing to assimilate what they had learnt in Italy, became corrupt Flemings, leading native art to an abyss from which only Rubens could rescue it—and he only for his life-time. The endeavours of the followers of Quentin culminated in the work of Peter Brueghel and was carried on by Brouwer, Teniers, Jordaens (though in the case of the last with a large seasoning of Rubens' influence, which improved his art when he painted genre, but overwhelmed it in religious subjects) and the Dutchmen. One general rule applies to all Netherland painters from early Burgundian days to the present time. They have not been able to paint inspiring pictures of scenes from Holy Writ. Portraits and landscapes have been at their command at all times, but the subjects in which they have been unsurpassed have been the naves of churches, the interior of the bed-chamber or other rooms of a private house, the interior of the shop, the counting-house, the cottage, the pothouse, the stable, or the farm. The feasting and dancing of nobles and peasants has ever suited their hands; from early times animals and flowers attracted their attention; and they were the first to appreciate the

beautiful colour of the meat, fish, game, fruit, and vegetables piled in the kitchens of the cloisters and of the well-to-do.

The direct followers of Quentin Metsys were Marinus Claeszoon, called van Romerswael; Jan Sandars, called van Hemessen; the unnamed painter referred to as the Brunswick Monogramist; Peter Aertszen; Peter Huys; Cornelis and Jan Metsys.

Marinus was born at Romerswael in Zeland, but he lived and worked in Antwerp until the middle of the sixteenth century. Then he returned to his native land, where he got into trouble for image-breaking when the Calvinist outrages took place. There is no direct evidence that he was an actual pupil of Quentin, but his pictures show that he was his imitator and that he succeeded in remaining entirely true to the traditions of his school.

Jan Sandars was born in the village of Hemessen or Hemixen on the Scheldt near Antwerp about 1507, becoming a free-master of the Antwerp Guild in 1524 and dean of it in 1548. He and his Antwerp wife lived in the *Linden Tree* in Lombard Street and later in the *Pheasant* in Hochstetter Street. He painted figures of a large size, making a group of Antwerp folk play a scene from the New Testament, and sometimes he placed them amidst Italian architecture. The Brunswick Monogramist is the most remarkable of the group. He usually painted a number—sometimes a crowd—of figures and imparted life, natural movement, and individuality to each of them. He is called the Brunswick Monogramist because the *Feast* in the Brunswick Gallery is his most important picture and it bears his monogram.[1] Some contend that he and Jan van Hemessen are one, but it seems more likely that the former was the pupil of the other, and painted up to a much later date; perhaps did not paint on his own account before Philip's reign.

Peter Aertszen, or Long Peter as he was called, was born at Amsterdam, and coming to Antwerp at the age of eighteen or nineteen became free-master of the Guild in 1535. So flourishing was the Guild at that time that Peter was one of forty-seven who became free-masters in that year, while twenty-one were inscribed as pupils.[2] At Amsterdam Peter had been a pupil of Alart Claeszoon, and on his arrival at Antwerp he soon acquired fame and fortune, marrying Catherine, the aunt of his pupil Joachim Beukelaer. At first he had lived with one Jan Mandyn (not the painter), but later he bought the *Vlaanderen* on the Cattle Market. He painted domestic servants, peasants, and labourers more frequently than his predecessors had done. Like van Hemessen, he returned to end his days in Holland. Little

[1] Catalogue of the Antwerp Gallery, 1911.

[2] Rombouts and van Lerius, "De Liggeren," etc., 1880. See also Hymans' translation of Van Mander for all these painters. Also Fierens Gevaerts and Van den Branden.

is known of Peter Huys, who became free-master in 1545 and dean in 1555. He is remembered by his pictures of singers and bagpipe-players at Berlin and Brussels. Cornelis Metsys was one of Quentin's children by Catherine Heyns and was his father's pupil. Few paintings are attributed to him, but probably he is responsible for some of the genre-pictures which pass under his father's name. Jan was his elder brother. The earliest works by this painter were genre-paintings of considerable excellence, but a period was put to his efforts in the style of his father by a sentence of banishment for heresy in 1544. He did not return to Antwerp until 1558, and we do not know where he spent the intervening years.

If Mabuse was the first to introduce to the North the practice of painting undraped figures indiscriminately, Jan Metsys was the first to paint women really naked. His painting of nudes was admirable. Thus Jan was both genre-painter and Italianized Fleming of the transitional period. The first group of burgher-pictures which claim attention is that of men, or men and women, sitting in counting-house, office, or shop, for the purpose of transacting business. The *Goldsmith and his Wife* (or the *Bankers*) in the Louvre has already been mentioned. It is usually considered to be by Quentin and it brought into existence many like itself, some of two men sitting at work, and some of a man and woman. It is not the case that all the pictures of this kind were painted at Antwerp, but most of them were of that origin and many have been considered to be the work of Marinus.[1] We find a *Goldsmith and his Wife* at Dresden (painted 1558) of which there are various repetitions in other galleries. As in several of these pictures, the man wears a hat of curious shape which seems to have been an official head-dress in Antwerp until Rubens' days. The couple are sitting at a table, the man weighing one by one in a pair of scales coins taken from a pile spread before him, while the woman watches him intently, her hands resting on an open book. A pile of books and papers lies on a shelf by the side of a guttered candle. It lacks the delicacy of the Louvre picture, of which it is a variant, but is of very good colour; the painter has not spent the skill on the painting of the details found in the other, on the fine goldsmith's work, on the pearls, on the miniature in the manuscript, on the reflection in the mirror. Similar pictures are to be found at Antwerp, Munich and elsewhere. There is a picture in the Antwerp Gallery, usually assigned to Marinus, which is a poor imitation of the *Bankers* at Windsor. The cloth cap worn by the chief figure has been changed to the curious Antwerp headdress already mentioned, which points to its having been painted

[1] See Lionel Cust in *Burlington Magazine*, February 1912. This article, which is based on the researches of M. de Mély, shows that the *Bankers* at Windsor and similar pictures are by Corneille de Lyon.

in the town. The one picture is a cheap edition of the other, and all accessories which needed time and patience in the painting have been omitted. The putting on or taking off of the curious cap is very puzzling.

Another variant of the two-men subject is the group headed by the *Bankers* in the National Gallery. In this picture both the men wear the Antwerp cap and are seated in a different way to those in the Windsor-like group. The accessories, guttered candle and all, are heaped on all available space. It must have been a very costly picture. Exaggeration has crept in to mar the effect, but the painter exhibits much of the technical skill of the earlier Flemings. There is a curious picture by Marinus in the Old Pinakothek at Munich, painted in 1542, of a tax-collector's office. The tax-collector is a stout old man who appears in a picture at Vienna; a clerk sits at his side making entries while he talks to a hawk-nosed old peasant. Two other men stand behind awaiting their turn. Papers hang on the wall and lie on the table and shelves. A picture at Dresden of unknown authorship shows a lawyer interviewing his clients, but the faces are coarse and greedy-looking. St. Jerome in his cell was a subject of which scores of replicas and variants were made, the best seeming to be those by Marinus. The pictures of this group were no doubt exported in considerable numbers and they vary greatly in quality, from good pictures like that by Marinus at Berlin to the travesties which appear from time to time in sale-rooms. The object aimed at in painting these pictures was undoubtedly to introduce as many accessories as possible—books, papers, and all kinds of library and office equipment.

A group of pictures of the *Call of Saint Matthew*, headed by Marinus's version in Lord Northbrook's Collection, would remind the purchaser — who would most likely be a merchant—that the Apostle once sat at the receipt of custom. This group is a very large one, including a version at Munich (different from that in the Northbrook Collection) which is also by Marinus (or perhaps by van Hemessen) and is more interesting than other versions of the story. St. Matthew sits at a table in a room busy with money when Christ enters. A girl at the table weighs gold. There are seven figures in the room, and papers, money, pens, ink, and books lie all over the table and shelves.

If Quentin's Louvre picture led his followers to portray men and women in the shop or study, the picture in the Pourtalès Collection which is attributed to him suggested that they might show various phases of the pursuit of the pleasure which women of light character can give. This picture is usually called *The Thief and the Old Man*. A well-dressed young woman in a low-cut bodice strokes an old rascal's evil face while he tries to clasp her in his arms. With her disengaged hand she surreptitiously passes the old man's purse to a

young fellow in the background. Another version of the same subject is in the Antwerp Gallery, and in it the old man, who was the model used by Marinus in pictures at Vienna and Munich, is falling a victim to the wiles of a young woman. A young man peeps through the door in this picture, and he will no doubt share the girl's takings later. This subject became very popular with painters and picture-buyers. It is strange if Quentin Metsys, who of all northern artists painted women tenderly, was the originator of a series of pictures which show her at her worst. This comedy of three characters became so popular that scenes of a similar nature were painted composed of a number of figures. The best known of these is that called *The Prodigal Son* in the Brussels Gallery, painted by van Hemessen in 1536.

Since Jerome Bosch painted *The Prodigal Son setting out on his Homeward Journey*, in the Figdor Collection, this splendid parable had been adopted by the painters who wanted to paint pictures dealing with the rake's progress or the road-to-ruin, showing the doings in local brothels, while seeming to illustrate the Bible story. In van Hemessen's picture the story of the Prodigal is narrated in the background and the chief scene is a group of large figures sitting beneath an Italian portico. Three prostitutes entertain three men, of whom one seems to be from the south of Europe. One of the others is an old man who pays more attention to his wine-pot than to his companions, and the other is playing dice. The foreigner is sitting between two of the women and the one to whom he is most attentive has taken a ring or some other valuable thing from him and is passing it over his shoulder to her companion in the manner of the Pourtalès group. The central group of the picture is completed by a grinning duenna and a bagpipe player. The scenes in the background include the expulsion of the southerner from the house, stripped of all but his breeches and shirt, his costly upper garment having been stolen. Although faults may be found with this picture, it convinces the spectator that those of van Hemessen's contemporaries were correct who acclaimed him a good painter of large figures.

Another picture by the same artist, called *Loose Company*, at Carlsruhe, is frankly a brothel scene without any pretence that the painter's desire is to tell a Bible story. The principal figure in this picture seems to be the same as he who plays dice in the Brussels picture, and besides him the same duenna and one of the same prostitutes appear. At the doorway some men are being invited to enter, and another group of persons sits in the far corner of the room. The figures at the back of both these pictures are thought to be by the Brunswick Monogramist. Brothel scenes by the Brunswick Monogramist himself are to be found in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, in the Antwerp Gallery,

and in the Berlin Gallery, which are admirably painted, all being groups of small figures. In the remarkable picture at Berlin a fight between two women is depicted with all the suggestion of movement which could be desired. Cornelis Metsys painted a *Return of the Prodigal* now in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam and Jan Metsys has a *Joyful Company* at Vienna.

Peter Aertszen presented scenes such as *The Rustic Feast* at Vienna, which showed that among the people when the wine flowed and the bagpipe played men's thoughts turned towards women. Such scenes as these are interesting as showing the manners of the times, but one is led by them to a truer appreciation of the refinement of Peter Brueghel, who spent his life painting vulgar folk and yet never put a single scene into a picture which could be disapproved of by the most fastidious on the ground of indecency. By the days of Rubens those Antwerp painters who, like Jordaens, wished to paint scenes of feasting and jollity had learnt to give a wide berth to the brothel and they laid their Twelfth-Night scenes in the houses of respectable folk, and then the introduction of tobacco had led many who wished to forget their surroundings to forsake the brothel-women and seek the foul taverns described by Brouwer and Teniers. In the second half of the sixteenth century the painting of brothel scenes, still passing sometimes as scenes from the Prodigal's life, was not a monopoly of the Brunswick Monogramist, but was undertaken by Joachim Beuckelaer, although he much preferred painting peasants surrounded by vegetables.[1]

The painters of the time were not such good colourists as their predecessors, and they had forgotten or forsaken the methods of van Eyck before they had mastered a better means of attaining their ends. Peter Aertszen was one of the best of them, and he was the first to realize that piles of fruit and vegetables by reason of their contrasts and fresh colour could be fit subjects for a painter's art. So he led the way for Franz Snyders, Adrian van Utrecht, and Jan Fyt.

With an aptitude for depicting such inanimate objects he combined a wonderful skill in figure drawing, so that when he painted a cook-maid in a kitchen or peasants in a market the result was often of great merit, but sometimes he fell below the mark. A good example of his work, in which the painting of the still-life is excellent, as well as of the chief figures, is that in the Städel Museum at Frankfort, called *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery*. The foreground is an ordinary market-scene, but in the background Christ stoops to write with His finger in the dust. This also was a story which became very popular with the painters of the time.

Another example of this kind of picture is No. 708 in the Brussels Gallery. It is a figure-piece with victuals of all kinds

[1] See No. 34 in the Brussels Gallery.

as accessories, but it is called *Jesus at the House of Martha and Mary*. As was often the case with him, Aertszen has spent much energy on the painting of one figure, that of Martha. It is an impressive figure standing broom in hand, with sleeves rolled up over muscular arms, her feet in sandals, while she bears a basket filled with game. She is indeed a Flemish cook, and the scene is laid in an Antwerp kitchen. Christ talks with uplifted hand. Mary is richly dressed and nurses her pet dog on her knee. The Virgin sits listening. The Apostles are present, and St. Peter, as was his wont, warms his hands at a fire of coals. This picture is dated 1559.

No. 705 in the same Gallery—called *The Cook*—introduces one figure with meat, poultry and vegetables. And yet another (No. 2) gives a peep into a kitchen in which the cook superintends the roasting of a duck, while a kitchen-boy turns the spit. As an example of a man's figure by him we have *The Peasant at Market* at Budapest. This man carries a tub on his head and a basket of eggs and game in his hand.

A group of Processions to Calvary which were painted about the middle of the century or later are the most interesting work done by the group of painters in the way of painting a large number of figures. Probably they were the work of the Brunswick Monogramist and are noteworthy as having led up to Brueghel's treatment of the same subject at Vienna. The best known of these are at the Louvre, Vienna (Academy), and Berlin. They all show the condemned on the way to execution at a place outside the town, and although the country round has not the appearance of Brabant, the crowd is no doubt that which could so often be seen on its way to the Gallows Field on the Mechlin road. At all events those taking part are in costumes then worn at Antwerp, and we see Dominicans comforting the prisoners, while soldiers carry the Imperial standard. The procession winds its way from left to right across the picture going up to Golgotha, where the crosses are already set up, and many persons, including the Virgin and her friends, have come to see it go by. Christ and the two thieves are guarded by soldiers in uniform, some mounted and some on foot. Sometimes the prisoners ride in a cart and sometimes on asses. Naturally with his skill in painting small figures and his wonderful power of giving life to them, the Brunswick Monogramist delighted in painting crowds and such productions can be found in several galleries. Some description must be given of the picture at Brunswick from which the description of him as the Brunswick Monogramist arose, although it is almost certainly of a later date than a period ending in 1559. The picture contains about 200 small figures. A feast has just been concluded given by a rich man in the open air before his château. The guests have been seated at four large tables, but now they begin to circulate.

In the same gallery is another picture by the same painter to which is given the name *Judah and Tamar*, but it is really a burgher and a woman talking beneath a tree at the edge of a wheat-field. It is only necessary to indicate the kind of subjects which were chosen by the painters of the time, and not to make a list of them. Jan Mandyn was an imitator of Bosch's most weird pictures and their works have been much confused. Mandyn was born at Harlem about 1500 and worked in Antwerp from 1530 to 1557, becoming the master of Gilles Mostaert and Bartholomew Spranger.

A painter who stood far apart from those already mentioned was Peter Coecke of Alost, who was the first to introduce the full Italian Renaissance style into the architecture of the town and, as it seems, into the painting as well. Besides being a painter he was an architect, sculptor, engraver, and designer of cartoons for tapestry and glass windows; also he was responsible for the publication of treatises on architecture. He was born in 1502 and became a pupil of Bernard van Orley, journeying later to Italy. Returning to Antwerp he entered the Guild in 1527. His residence in the town was interrupted by a journey to Constantinople, whence he brought a number of drawings of Turks and eastern life. In 1534 he made the figure of the Giant Antigonus (still preserved in the Museum of Antiquities) to be carried through the town on important occasions. With the painter Vermeyen he sailed on the Emperor's expedition to Tunis in 1535 and returning to Antwerp became Dean of the Guild in 1537. In the same year he designed a window for the Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Church of Our Lady.[1] We have already mentioned the work attributed to him which was once in the House of Moelenere. When Philip (1549) visited the town the management of the "triumph" was entrusted to him. His best known pupils were Colyn van Nieucastel, called Lucidel, and Peter Brueghel. His death took place in 1550. No painting is attributed to him with certainty, but a *Last Supper* at Liége (painted 1530) is supposed to be his.[2] Of this picture there are versions at Brussels, Nuremberg, and in several private collections. It was at one time thought to be by Lambert Lombard. The architecture in the picture is Renaissance in style and medallions decorate the walls. The figures are dressed and posed in the Italian manner, but the men seem to be Germans or Netherlanders. Coecke became painter and engraver to Charles and the town granted him a pension in recognition of what he had done for the industry of tapestry-making.

During the Regency of Mary of Hungary the sale of paintings and other works of art was so enormous that the Pand by the Churchyard of Our Lady became too small, and in 1540 the sale-

[1] Fierens-Gevaerts, "Les Primitifs Flamands."
[2] Catalogue of the Brussels Gallery.

room was moved to the galleries above the New Bourse, which was henceforth called the Painters' Pand.

A somewhat enigmatic painter must be mentioned who died a few years after Coecke. This was Josse of Cleves the Younger, who has been confused with his namesake and predecessor. Guicciardini and Van Mander roll the two into one. It seems, however, that the younger went into the service of Francis I and painted portraits of both King and Queen, as well as of many French courtiers, also to England at the time of the marriage of Philip and Mary. He was nicknamed The Madman and seems to have gone out of his mind entirely before his death, which occurred between 1553 and 1561.[1] Portraits and religious subjects are attributed to him including the Rockox *Last Judgment* in St. James's, a *Calvary* in the National Gallery, a *Mater Dolorosa* in the Uffizi, and portraits at Windsor, Berlin, Munich, Brussels, the Pitti, etc.

The sculptors of the middle of the sixteenth century had remained more under the influence of the early Flemish artists than the painters had done, and the change which is most apparent in the sculptured figures is one of the fashions, particularly in head-dresses. The Flemish work, like the French, continued to be more refined and graceful than the German or Dutch. By this time there was not such a great demand for carved altar-pieces as before, the trade having been damaged by the Reformation, but there was an increased demand for pieces of carved furniture, chairs, beds, tables, and chests. A bas-relief of masons at work still decorates the house of their Guild on the Cheese Canal, but the best stone sculpture of the period which remains is that on the façade of the Cloth Hall in the Great Market, erected in 1541. The carvers in stone were members of the Guild of the Four Crowned Saints and not of that of St. Luke, like the other workers mentioned in this chapter.

The most important of the many Antwerp glass-painters at this time was Jan Hack, who was made free of the Guild of St. Luke in 1516. Unfortunately none of his work remains in Antwerp, but he executed a window for the Lady Chapel of the Mother Church in 1538. It is very likely that this artist was the inventor of a method of giving colour to glass which seems to have been used for the first time in the windows which he erected in the Church of St. Gudule at Brussels.[2]

Also worthy of mention as a glass-painter is Robert van Ollem, who became free of the Guild in 1521 and worked for Our Lady's Church after the fire, the Abbey of St. Trond, the Abbey of St. Bernard, and the Fugger family.

In 1536 Peter Coecke executed a window for the church which was placed above the Altar of St. Nicholas, and another

[1] Fierens-Gevaerts, and see the Catalogue of the Brussels Gallery.
[2] Cauwenbergh, "Notice historique sur les Peintres-Verriers," etc.

was designed by him in the following year. Corneille van Dale, the elder, made improvements in the art, but none of his work seems to have survived. Thomas Provoost executed a window which occupied one of the double windows of the west façade of St. James's. It was given by the English merchants. Jacques de Vriendt, the youngest brother of Cornelis, was highly thought of during his life, but we know of none of his work. Many of the best glass-makers were kept busy in the churches and elsewhere in the town and some of their work remains.

The printers' art and trade flourished wonderfully in Antwerp during Charles's reign in spite of the efforts made to hinder the outpour of certain kinds of books; and during that period something like thirty-five new presses were established. Until the time when Plantin commenced to issue those editions the accuracy of which brought him and his collaborators and successors a large measure of fame, the works of the Antwerp printers, with a few exceptions, were in demand rather on account of their cheapness than their accuracy or elegance. The name of Jacob van Liesvelt is the best known among the printers of the time by reason of his having been put to death (1545) for issuing works in contravention of the Placards. He, like most of those in the same business, lived and worked in Brewers' Street.[1]

Once again must the versatile Peter Coecke of Alost be mentioned; this time as sworn printer to the Emperor.

[1] Franz Fraet, another Antwerp printer, paid a like penalty during the Regency of Margaret of Parma.

CHAPTER XIII

ANTWERP FROM VAN ROSSEM'S RAID TO THE ABDICATION OF CHARLES V

THE destruction of buildings of mediæval and Renaissance days has swept away so many historical landmarks that the Antwerp of to-day seems another than that ruled over by Charles V. The condition of those which remain has in many cases been so altered that they have been stripped of all that can remind one of their association with the past. St. James's Church has become curious as the place in which Rubens worshipped and in which he and members of the rich Antwerp families were buried in his day rather than as a parish church of the greatest mart-town of the sixteenth century, and the seventeenth and eighteenth century monuments within it put one out of mind of the century in which it was built. The old Dominicans' Church has become the Parish Church of St. Paul and is no longer haunted by monks. The Steen and Butchers' House have become museums. The Guild House of the Cross-bowmen built on the north side of the Great Market in 1516 was, like many others, rebuilt in the latter part of the century, and it is now adorned by an equestrian statue of St. George. The Cloth Hall and Carpenters' Hall, on the south-east of the square, were rebuilt, the one in the middle of the sixteenth and the other in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Church of Our Lady alone remains much as it appeared in 1535.

This lack of memorials of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has tempted strangers to forget this town's glorious history, while towns of no greater repute in the days in which they throve—Florence, Venice, Bruges, Ravenna, Pisa—have impressed beholders with their ancient importance by means of the evidence of their prosperity which has withstood the hand of time. In the loss of buildings Antwerp has fared as badly as London, Paris, Milan, Genoa. Another cause has contributed to make Antwerp history less interesting and more fugitive from the mind than is its right. This is the almost entire absence of the human note from it. Hither came, it is true, emperors, kings, and princes who entered the town in state, held councils, levied taxes, made preparations for war against their neighbours,

attended Mass in the Church of Our Lady and rode away, but no record has been preserved of any of them falling in love or doing any good deed or committing any remarkable sin in the town, or doing any other thing there but such business as we may guess they and those like them did on most days of their lives. Nor are we granted as many glimpses as we desire of the burghers, rich and poor, in their homes or in their offices.

It would be impossible to write a biography of any one resident in the town in the first half of the sixteenth century which would not be founded mainly on legend. How few are the names of citizens mentioned. Those of some of the Magistrates become familiar in times of stress—Jan van Ranst, Lancelot van Ursel, Cornelius van Spangen. Two Secretaries of the town, Petrus Ægidius and Cornelius Graphæus, are well known as writers, cultivated men, and the friends of scholars. We hear of Erasmus, Præpositus, Sir Thomas More, Geleyn Gery, and the names of merchants, financiers, architects, and painters, together with the names of those who came in some capacity or another before the Vierschare, but the chroniclers seem to have valued the casting on shore of a monstrous fish, the appearance of some phenomenon in the heavens, or the birth of a prodigy above the hope and fear, the pleasure and pain of those who inhabited the town, and they have left much of what we should like to hear unrecorded. Perhaps it was the realization that this absence of the personal note was a loss to the town which set on the legend-weavers to busy themselves with a romance for the youth of Quentin Metsys and to supply Loy, the slater, with a whole biography.

As the middle of the sixteenth century approached, records, chronicles, and correspondence let us know a little more about the lives of the human beings who lived in Antwerp. That part of such information comes with the account of crimes—particularly murders—is not surprising in an age in which all Europe gossiped about the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici (1537) and of Arden of Feversham (1551).

A tragedy which occurred among the Italian colony in Antwerp in 1551 caused a very great stir at the time and was long remembered. Two of the Lucca merchants, Jeronimo Deodati and Simon Turchi, were well known in the town. They were close friends, but some months before the year of which we are speaking certain differences had arisen between them and had never been entirely forgotten. Both men were admirers of an Antwerp beauty, Maria van der Werve, daughter of William van der Werve, a rich member of one of the knightly families of the Netherlands, and they paid their attentions, consorting with her in the somewhat free manner permitted in Antwerp. Turchi had been in the business house of Bonvisi, but had left it and had allowed his own affairs to fall into such confusion that he

had been compelled to borrow money from his friends. From Maria van der Werve Turchi borrowed a sum of money undertaking to pay interest on it, and he signed a contract to repay. Maria, however, had heard rumours about him and she consulted his rival Deodati as to whether she could safely rely on his personal obligation. Deodati advised her to obtain a further guarantee from some of Turchi's business associates, stating the condition of his credit. When Maria demanded further security Turchi was greatly incensed and correctly concluded that Deodati was the giver of the advice on which she was acting. On this assumption he procured a chair so curiously devised that iron bars sprang out and seized the thighs of anyone sitting in it, holding him a prisoner. Having taken his Italian servant, Julio, into his confidence, he sent a message to Deodati, inviting him to his house, which stood on the Little Market at the end of Brewers' Street. Deodati came to the house and, sitting unsuspectingly in the chair, found himself a prisoner. At first he thought his friend was playing a joke on him, but he quickly realized his mistake and endeavoured to soothe Turchi's anger against him, but to no purpose. He found himself compelled to sign obligations, releases, and the like, and to submit to insults and blows, until he pleaded for his life. It seems to have been Julio who with a poniard actually gave the death-blow, but together they carried the body down to the cellars, where they buried it in the velvet suit it bore. Apparently the grave had been dug previously. All this took place on the 18th of March, and on the next day it was cried through the streets that a reward would be given for news of the missing Deodati.

Two days later Turchi was dining with the Schout when he heard that a search for the body was to be made in all cellars, stables, and gardens. He hurried home and sent Julio to persuade his servant, Bernardo, a Piedmontese, to disinter the body and throw it into the street or into one of the wells. Bernardo was persuaded by Julio to do this by promises and menaces, but with difficulty; and on seeing the body he instantly recognized it as that of Deodati. Carrying it on his shoulder he went along the dark street with Julio, but hearing the watch he dropped his burden and ran back to the house and told Turchi that Julio had murdered Deodati, as he believed he had. On this Turchi dispatched Bernardo to Deodati's house with the information, pointing out to him that he would thus get the offered reward. When Julio returned to the house Turchi gave him money and made him ride for Cologne, showing him that he would be accused of the murder and that he had no other chance of escape. When Julio had started Turchi himself rode to the Schout and told him that his servant had murdered Deodati and had fled. This the Schout and Magistrates were not

disposed to believe and they detained Turchi at the Town House. On being threatened with torture he confessed and was condemned to death. Six days later he was placed on a scaffold before the Town House, sitting on the chair on which Deodati had died, and a fire was lighted in a circle at six or eight feet from him. While he roasted the executioner made several times as if to stab him with a dagger to cause him all the agony that fear and suspense could inspire. Packets of gunpowder had been fastened to his clothes, in the manner usual on such occasions, designed to explode one after another. The Magistrates at length ordered the executioner to put him out of his misery, and burning straw was thrown on his body to set his clothes alight. His body was hung on a wheel on the Gallows Field. Julio was caught at Aix and put to death.[1]

Not only has this episode supplied the Flemish writer, Hendrik Conscience, with the plot for a novel, but Bandello told the tale. The Italian, speaking of the freedom permitted in Antwerp to unmarried women, such as Maria van der Werve, probably misrepresents the true state of manners of the day. He says that it was the rule for marriageable girls to have a troop of admirers and that the size of the troop was a matter of pride to the lady. The gallants were admitted to visit the ladies very freely and were allowed to escort them to feasts, suppers, and revels in the town without the constant surveillance of a duenna. Bandello adds that when once a lady was married it was no longer considered right and proper for her to gallant it thus with men. The conduct of foreigners was always such as to give rise to trouble and at this time several scandals arose among those of them who were well-to-do. Just before Mary resigned the Regency arose a case in point.

In January 1555, a celebrated Spanish physician, named Jerome Abanzo of Saragossa, came to Antwerp and stayed with the pious Dean of the Chapter of Our Lady, Roger de Taxis, a kinsman of the Imperial Post-Master. This doctor succeeded in making the acquaintance of a beautiful young Viennese woman, named Margaret Harstein, and had the audacity to smuggle her into the Dean's house, concealing her in his bedchamber for three days. During the night of Sunday, the 3rd of February, the woman killed the man. We know nothing of the circumstances, excepting that in the middle of the night the people in the house heard cries and forcing open the bedroom door, found the doctor covered with blood and the woman brandishing a knife before him. The doctor had strength enough to denounce her as his murderess, but he died two days afterwards. She was handed over to the Schout, Jan van Immerseel, and confined to the Steen. She made a confession of guilt which was, in accordance with custom, read over to her and confirmed

[1] Meteren, folios 14 and 15.

beneath the blue sky. At her trial she was defended by Jan van Houte, one of the ablest advocates of the day, who set up the defence of "not guilty" and contested the validity of the confession, as having been procured by torture, and claimed a postponement of execution on the ground that she was pregnant. After a few days' adjournment she was condemned to death and was burnt on the Gallows Field by the executioner, Geleyn Gery.[1]

The most unpopular man in Antwerp was Gaspar Ducci or Dozzi of Pistoia, a merchant of great enterprise, whose ill-doing was not confined to his financial transactions, but found vent in lawless and violent behaviour in the town. He was related by marriage to Gilbert van Schoonbeke's father, and for some reason of which we are ignorant he bore to Gilbert an indelible hatred. Some litigation arose between the two which terminated in van Schoonbeke's favour, and Ducci set on his nephew, Antonio Reusy, and his servant Rosse or Rosseau, to attack and kill his rival.[2] The plot was carried into execution on Sunday evening, 22nd of February, 1545, about "Bourse-time," in a street near the Bourse, but it failed through the intervention of van Schoonbeke's servant.

Such violent methods were by no means strange to Ducci, for he maintained a band of bravoes in his pay to do such work. He had already attempted the murder of the Pensionary, Jacob Maes, the King of Portugal's factor, and other well-known merchants, also he had wrought some mischief to the beautiful Maria van der Werve, the heroine of the Turchi tragedy. Now he promised further violence to van Schoonbeke and to his wife, Elisabeth Heynderick, saying that his band of cut-throats could do him any such service. The influence which Ducci had obtained with the Emperor and the Brussels Court by means of the help he gave in financial matters was so great that there was much truth in his boasts that he could do as he pleased.

On the 27th of February the Magistrates by sound of horn summoned Antonio Reusy to appear at the Town House on the following Wednesday at nine o'clock, but he had already fled to Brussels, where he could obtain some measure of protection from the Court through Ducci's influence, and the prosecution was carried on before the Vierschare in his absence. The Emperor's influence on this occasion made itself felt by the removal of the case by Imperial Edict from the Vierschare to the Council of Brabant, in spite of the protests of the former Court. We do not know how the matter was settled, or indeed if it was allowed to find a conclusion, but one may justly seek the hand

[1] Génard, "Une exécution au XVI^e siècle"; "Bulletin de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique," 1880, and "Chronyk van Antwerpen."

[2] Génard, "Un procès célèbre au XIV^e siècle: Gilbert van Schoonbeke contre Gaspar Dozzi"; "Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire," série 4, t. XV, 1888.

of their old enemy in the trouble which fell on van Schoonbeke and the Pensionary, Jacques Maes, nine years later. At the end of the very year (1554) in which riots took place against van Schoonbeke, a band of assassins fell unsuccessfully on Ducci himself and he in his turn was saved by his servant. Such street scenes were very common at the time.

The escape of thirty-two prisoners from the Steen in 1545 was an event which aroused much interest in the town and was duly chronicled. That portion of the Steen which faces the entrance served to detain prisoners who were unable or unwilling to pay the cost of their board and certain dues, and was called the Common Steen (Gemeen-Steen or Plat-Steen).[1] At about four o'clock in the afternoon of St. Peter's Day (22nd of February, 1545) a prisoner named Hans in den Helm (from the house, the *Helmet*, in which he lived), who was in the Common Steen, asked the porter to get beer for him. The porter foolishly brought it in a jug too large to pass through the grating used for the purpose, and when he opened the door Hans pushed a bench into the gap and then with the assistance of his companions seized the keys and liberated all the other prisoners, among whom was a Spanish captain who had committed treason in Piedmont.[2] On the next day the Magistrates ordered that none should lodge or assist the fugitives, and all of them were speedily recaptured excepting the Spanish captain, who was not seen again, and Hans, who remained at large for a year.

On the eve of the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul in the following year (1546) Hans re-appeared. During the interval he had been in England, and when leaving that country to return to Antwerp he was deprived of five or six crowns which were found on him and which it was supposed he had come by wrongfully, so that he swore to make the first Englishman he met in Antwerp pay for the injustice done him. Apparently he had no fear of arrest, for he wandered freely about the Cow Gate, where stood the house named the *Helmet*, of which his father was owner. He saw an Englishman sitting at a table before his door, and running into the *Helmet* he returned with a rapier and ran the Englishman through with it. The poor man was not mortally wounded and the chronicler thinks Hans might have made a better fight of it than he did when the officers came, if he had been more sober. As it was he was seized and executed on the 1st of July on the Great Market before the Town House and buried by the side of his mother in the Dominicans' Cloister. Hans seems to have been in the Steen for murder in the first instance and to have suffered for that crime rather than for his escape from prison or his assault in the Cow Gate.[3] The English

[1] Eugène Boulsaie, "Le Steen d'Anvers."
[2] "Chronyk van Antwerpen" and other chronicles.
[3] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1390.

VIEW OF ANTWERP FROM THE SOUTH MADE WHILE THE NEW FORTIFICATIONS WERE BEING PREPARED.
ST. GEORGE'S, OR THE IMPERIAL GATE IS COMPLETED

were very unpopular in Antwerp at this time and many were assaulted in the streets.

A tragic scene is that narrated as having occurred in 1552. On the 21st of August Heer Jan van der Werve, ex-Under-Schout, witnessed the Ommegang of Our Lady in the morning and afterwards took part with the Magistrates in a feast at the Town House. In the afternoon he got into his carriage, with his wife, their maid, and their jester, to drive out to his country house at Hoboken; but when they reached the wooden bridge by the Kroonenburg, the wind caught them and sent the whole party over the stone parapet into the moat, but the horses and carriage remained standing on the bridge. The ex-Under-Schout was smothered in the mud and his wife died soon afterwards from the effects, but the maid and the fool were unhurt. Apparently the people thought this accident was a punishment from heaven in consequence of a miscarriage of justice for which the ex-Under-Schout was responsible. Indeed the same storm broke all the windows of his house at Hoboken.

The last ten years of his reign saw Charles more in the Netherlands than before, and Antwerp realized to the full her share in his greatness. The scene of war, when hostilities broke out again with France, was now on the Netherland frontier instead of on that of Italy or Spain, and together with the Anabaptist peril claimed Charles's presence in the Netherlands. At the end of 1544 Charles found himself at peace again with France, Guelders, and Denmark, free to suppress Protestantism in Germany and the Netherlands, and to drive back the Turks. In 1543 he had made a Treaty with Henry against France, but by coming to terms with France he left him to carry on the war alone, and this led to much bickering between the late allies. The result of this was that soon the owners had to complain of the embargo laid by the English on ten or twelve Antwerp ships in English ports which Henry said were laden with herrings on their way to France, the conveying of victuals to France being forbidden to a neutral State. In addition the English captured ships at sea, so that in January 1545 the Emperor ordered the seizure of the persons, ships, and merchandise of Henry's subjects in his ports, and by dinner-time on the 6th of the month the English merchants at Antwerp were all under arrest; a state of things which continued up to the 6th of April; but even after that date the capture of ships continued on both sides.[1] By July there was every chance of war and the English merchants began to flock from Antwerp to England, but matters quieted down.

The gossip at Antwerp in this year ranged from news of the Turks entering Hungary in greater force than before to the discussion of a new diet for gout which the Emperor was to

[1] "Calendar of State Papers, England and Spain," VIII, Nos. 4, 91, also Introduction to Gairdner, XX, Part I.

adopt. When a report—which proved to be erroneous—came in the spring to the effect that peace had been made between England and France, wagers were laid in Antwerp upon its accuracy. At Antwerp one betted on everything—even on whether a pregnant woman would give birth to a boy or a girl, which had led to the changing of babies and to the overlooking of baptism, so that a year or two before the Magistrates had decreed that contracts of that kind should be void.[1]

Scaremongers, or else persons hoping to be rewarded for information, were constantly presenting themselves at the English House to tell the Courtmaster or the English agents of plots against England, such as the blowing up of the powder magazines at Boulogne. All this time Henry's agents at Antwerp were raising German and Italian mercenaries for service against the French, and were collecting hoys, playtes, and wagons, while the negotiating of loans with the merchants formed a large part of their service. The raising of Germans was made easy by the wish of the Protestant Princes who had formed the League of Smalcald to have Henry on their side in the war which they knew would soon break out with the Emperor, but in the event the men raised were of no use to him.[2] On the 19th (or perhaps 20th) of April, 1545, Charles and Mary of Hungary arrived at Antwerp, coming from Mechlin at 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening, and went to lodge at the House of Aachen. Soon after his arrival Charles rode round the new fortifications to see how the work was proceeding. We find, too, that private persons visiting the Netherlands made the journey to Antwerp especially to see these works, for they were arousing interest everywhere.

Charles's newly formed amity with France now led him once more to plan a marriage between the royal families of the two countries, promising this time the investiture of Milan to the bridegroom. He proposed to give the Duke of Orleans either his sister or his niece. In furtherance of such schemes Orleans came to join him at Antwerp. The Duke was young, but in a few weeks the matter was put aside by his death. On his arrival at Antwerp he cut a curious figure. He came on Friday, the 24th of April, and was received with great pomp. The Duke of Arschot and other nobles with the Italian and Spanish merchants met him half a league outside the town and brought him on his way to meet the Emperor.[3] On coming into Charles's presence he gave him salutation from his father and after searching in his pocket for a time blushingly said, "Foy de gentilhomme, Sire, j'ay perdu mes lettres." His harbingers had taken lodging for eight hundred followers, but in fact he brought but some three hundred and those "verye homblye horsede." He had already adopted the arms of Milan in anticipation of investiture, quartered

[1] M. & T., IV, 207. [2] Gairdner, XIX and XX.
[3] Gairdner, XX, Part I, Nos. 588, 589.

with those of France. On the 29th of April the royal party left Antwerp, Charles going towards Boulogne, the Regent and Orleans going with him as far as Lierre.

The summer of 1545 was very dry. No rain fell between the 15th of June and the 9th of September, and there was a widespread drought, even the larger rivers running low, and pestilence made its appearance.[1] When Charles returned in the autumn his plans for Milan lay scattered by the death of Orleans. The great bell of the Mother Church rang as he crossed the Scheldt (18th of November) on his way to St. Michael's Abbey. On the 25th he, "the first of all mortals," rode through the new St. George's Gate, called the Imperial Gate in future. His stay at Antwerp lasted until the 1st of December and discussions took place daily between the ambassadors of France and England summoned at Charles's mediation, but nothing was concluded between them. The next year was to see the outbreak of war between the Emperor and the Protestants in Germany, and all men at Antwerp were on the tip-toe of expectation. The winter which heralded the year 1546 was mild until Christmas Eve, but three days after that a frost began which lasted until the 1st of March.

In May everything became very dear. On the 15th of May a viertal of wheat cost 3 florins 2 stivers, and this price held for six months all over Brabant. By the end of the year it rose in Antwerp to 4 florins the viertal, but the Magistrates sold it to the poor at 32 stivers ($1\frac{3}{5}$ florins) a viertal. On the 8th of May rye fetched 38 stivers the viertal at Antwerp, on the 15th of May 66 stivers, and on the 22nd of May 42 stivers, but at Candlemas 10 or 11 stivers.[2] By the end of April in the following year corn sold at Antwerp for 10 or 11 stivers, and good quality at that, and it was even cheaper in France and Spain.

These sharp fluctuations in price were a feature of the time. As soon as it became certain there would be war in Germany, merchants knew that their business would suffer. All sorts of rumours floated round the town as to what was going on in Germany. Some said the Emperor would find difficulty in enlisting lance-knights to serve against the Protestants and others that the Swiss would prevent his Italian and Spanish soldiers passing to the scene of war. The Catholics in Antwerp maintained that Charles made war to stamp out disobedience and not to suppress a creed. The war's depressing effect on trade was its chief interest to Antwerp, but financial and military preparations for the Emperor were made in the town. All things came to the Netherlands, and in such an enterprise Charles

[1] "Chronycke van Nederlant" de Weert, and Gairdner, XX, Part II, No. 153.
[2] "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert, and Van Heyst, "Boek der Tyden."

found the possession of these lands an inestimable advantage to him.

The Anabaptists had brought the whole idea of new doctrines into such disrepute that those who grieved over Charles's victory at Mühlberg (1547) were few and there was rejoicing among the merchants—particularly on the part of the factor of the King of Portugal and the Genoese—when on the 10th of May the event was celebrated. In its honour, a few days later, the Spaniards held a tournament on the Meer Place and lanterns were hung round the tower of St. James's Church and a banner set on the summit.[1] The success in Germany placed the Emperor in a position to do many things he had been unable to carry through before, and among other achievements he brought about a treaty between the Netherland Provinces and the Empire which was to the advantage of the former. The Provinces were to contribute to Imperial subsidies but were to be exempt from the Imperial jurisdiction. The Empire had the care of the defence of the Provinces, but the Provinces were withdrawn from Imperial control. The effect of this was to sever the Provinces from the Empire, for the protection was never given and the contribution to the Imperial treasury was never paid. The Treaty of Cambrai, 1529, had severed Flanders and Artois from France, and by this new measure Charles turned the seventeen Netherland Provinces into a complete and independent whole. After this Antwerp really ceased to be part of the Empire of which it had been for so long the north-west mark. The Pragmatic Sanction of the same year declared that the Sovereign should succeed henceforth by the same law of succession to all the Provinces, and thus it was secured that the inheritance should remain undivided.[2] This work was done at the Diet of Augsburg (1548).

At this moment a chronicler finds time to tell us that (August 1548) a young woman came to Antwerp who was twenty years old and seven foot in height, the daughter of short parents, and by payment one was admitted to see her.

Having obtained the assent of the States to the Pragmatic Sanction, the next thing for Charles to do was to present to his new subjects the heir who was to succeed to the Burgundian possessions, since the assent given to the Pragmatic Sanction by the States extended to a promise to pay homage to such heir at once, while Charles still reigned. The heir whom he now presented to the people was Philip, his only legitimate son, so closely bound up with the future of these lands. He was twenty-two years old at this time. He arrived in the Netherlands in March and after proceeding through Flanders and Hainaut entered

[1] "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert.

[2] "Cambridge Modern History," II, and Emile de Borchgrave, Mem. Couronnés, etc., Académie Royale de Belgique, 1871.

Louvain as the chief town of Brabant. There he swore, among other things, that Antwerp should never again be severed from the rest of Brabant and that the annual Antwerp Fairs should continue with all their privileges. With him on this progress went the Emperor, Mary of Hungary, and Eleanor of France.

From Louvain the royal party returned to Brussels and proceeded thence to Mechlin, lingering there to give the people of Antwerp time to complete the preparations made for their reception, for it was their intention that it should eclipse all that men could remember.[1] They left Mechlin on the 11th of September and dined at Lierre, but when they continued their journey after dinner the sky became overcast and before they reached Antwerp heavy rain had begun to fall, which men thought God sent as a punishment to spoil all the clothes and gold and silver trappings which had been prepared. Between Antwerp and the village of Berchem, by the Leper-House about a mile from the Imperial Gate, a large iron barrier stretched across the road. The barrier was called the "Baillie" by the people and was the boundary of the Antwerp territory on this side. Here a small round wooden chapel decorated with paintings in antique style and a triumphal arch had been erected for the occasion. It was at this point that the Schout, Amman, Magistrates, and clergy stood with a large assembly of all ranks to welcome the royal party. Philip was received with the usual ceremonies. He entered the chapel and there took the oath to perform the duties of the Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire and to maintain the Catholic religion when the time came for him to succeed his father. In return he was welcomed by the Magistrates, who took oath to him and presented the keys of the town. A procession was then formed to bring in the Prince. First came certain notable burghers on horseback and the Trade Guilds preceded by the four Headmen and the Masters of the Wycks, then rich Antwerp merchants and gentlemen and the lesser civic officials; then the merchants of Lucca, Milan, England, Spain, the Hansa, and Germany going two and two accompanied by their lackeys. The Genoese, the Florentines, and the Portuguese were kept away by a quarrel as to precedence. Then came the Magistrates. At the end of the procession rode Philip mounted on a magnificent Spanish jennet richly caparisoned, followed by the Emperor, the two Queens, and the rest of the royal party. As they came through the rain to the Imperial Gate salutes of cannon were fired and the great bell, *Carolus*, rang out a welcome. As usual on such occasions an innumerable number of lighted torches were carried in the procession and

[1] For accounts of Philip's entry into Antwerp and for the doings there, see "Le Très-Heureux Voyage fait par Don Philippe," IV, trans. by Jules Petit; "Chronyk van Antwerpen"; "Chronycke van Nederlant," 1097–1565, Piot; Guicciardini; Meteren; Papebrochius, II; Van Heyst's "Boek der Tyden"; Cornelius Graphæus, "Spectaculorum in susceptione," etc.; Thys, etc.

others were set on richly ornamented wooden standards along the route. All present seemed to think that no such preparations had ever been made before to greet a prince at Antwerp, so rich were the costumes worn by those riding in the procession and so magnificent was the " triumph " of arches and decorations along the streets of the town. The streets leading from the Imperial Gate had been decorated with arches of triumph—twenty-eight in number, twenty-three erected at the cost of the town and five at that of the foreign merchants.

These preparations, together with the entry of Philip, have been described by Cornelius Graphæus, the Secretary of the town, who planned part of the scheme of decoration, in a work supplemented by plates reproducing the arches. The execution of his plans was put into the hands of Peter Coecke of Alost. The cost to which the town was put on the occasion is said to have amounted to 520,000 florins, which represents at least 2,000,000 francs to-day.[1] The arches were all in the classical style which Coecke had made familiar in the town, the Corinthian column being much in evidence, with Greek gods and nymphs of land and water. The figure of the giant Antigonus now in the Collection of Antiquities seems to be the only remaining object of the decorations. This figure was designed by Coecke to represent the oldest inhabitant known even to tradition, and was placed in the Great Market to welcome Philip. The houses along the route taken by the procession were decked out in tapestries and costly cloths, while on the balconies and at the windows stood throngs of beautiful women all in their richest garments. After entering the gate the procession passed along the Long Hospital Street. At that time most of the rich Spanish and Italian merchants lived in this street, and to welcome Philip the former had put up one of the finest triumphal arches. It represented the Temple of Janus whose doors were being closed by figures ten feet high in gilded armour representing Charles and Philip. Further along the same street the Genoese had erected an arch a hundred feet high on which appeared Olympian deities. Still further on—in the Tanners' Street—Philip encountered a superb " triumph " in Corinthian style, sixty feet high, set up by the Florentines. And so he proceeded through the streets, receiving a great ovation all the way, but the rain had not ceased when the cortège arrived at the royal lodging at St. Michael's Abbey.

On the next day Philip and the royal party attended Mass and then went to the Town House, and he took oath as Duke of Brabant and Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire according to custom to maintain the Church and the rights and privileges of the Margraviate; and the Magistrates swore to be faithful to him. In accordance with custom, the people standing in

[1] Thys, p. 63.

the Market Place showed their adherence to the oath taken by the Magistrates by raising their hands and shouting. Then a herald scattered a great quantity of gold and silver coins which had been struck for the purpose. The humble people manifested great joy in the streets at Philip's coming, with fireworks, illuminations, and all signs of welcome, but when the excitement was over it was found that they were dissatisfied with their new Prince. He seemed to care little for the pageants and fêtes in which he found himself compelled to indulge, and his upbringing in Spain had made him too much of a foreigner for their liking. This was ever the feeling towards Philip in the Netherlands, nor was he able to adopt a demeanour sufficiently genial to win the hearts of his northern subjects, although hints were given him by the Emperor to make himself as pleasant as possible. Perhaps these early opinions formed of Philip were not confirmed until the time came for him to succeed his father, and his subjects became more familiar with him. At all events at his first coming to Antwerp his reception left nothing to be desired.

The people had now a chance of seeing many notable persons attendant on the royal party. On the very day of Philip's coming John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, a prisoner of the Emperor since the battle of Mühlberg, had entered the town. He came about noon, sitting in a horse litter, guarded by 300 Spanish soldiers. We do not know why the poor captive was brought to Antwerp and can only surmise that it was thought he would be the better guarded if tied to the Emperor's chariot wheels. Anthony Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, was also in the town. He lodged in the Fuggers' house.

On the evening of the 12th of September a marriage was celebrated between Helena, daughter of the Lord of Brederode, and Thomas Perrenot, Lord of Chantenay, son of Nicolas Perrenot, Lord of Granvelle, the ceremony being performed by the Bishop of Arras, the bridegroom's brother. The bride was a lady-in-waiting to Mary of Hungary, who gave the bridal supper at the Palace in St. Michael's, at which the distinguished company sat in the following order: the Emperor, the bride, Philip, the Queen of Hungary, the Duke of Holst, the Marquis of Berghes, Duke Eric of Brunswick, the Countess Mansfeld, the Bishop of Arras, the bridegroom, the Lord of Boussu, Count Mansfeld, the Duke of Arschot, the Lord of Brederode, the Admiral, the Prince of Piedmont, and Eleanor of France.[1] After supper there was dancing and the bride was conducted to bed in the customary manner. On the next day Charles attended Mass with the wedding party and they dined just as on the day before. At five o'clock the two Queens, Philip, and several lords and ladies led the bride to the Fuggers' house, where the husband and she had their lodging. On the way, when they came to the Oever,

[1] Gachard, "Collection des Voyages des Souverains," etc., II, 390.

on which a triumphal monument had been erected by the men who worked in the Mint, twelve horsemen rode forward and jousted with twelve others for their edification, and then fifty Spanish arquebusiers appeared and attacked the horsemen, driving them from the square, and all who saw the incident were very pleased. At the Fuggers' house the Bishop of Arras gave a banquet which was followed by dancing, and a great part of the night had gone by when the royal party went back to St. Michael's.[1]

On the next day—a Saturday—the Emperor again attended Mass in the Great Church, in which the choristers of the Emperor's Chapel took part. After dining at the Palace, Philip and the two Queens went to the Great Market to witness a combat afoot. The results of the feats of arms which took place on that day are not interesting, but certain names appear which figure prominently in the history of the Netherlands in later years—such as the Marquis of Berghes, the Count of Hoogstraeten, the Count of Horn, the Count of Meghem, William of Orange, Jerome Perrenot, and Philippe of St. Aldegonde. The tournament lasted until dusk and dancing again succeeded supper.

On the next day—Sunday—Charles and Philip attended Mass in Our Lady's Church, and after dinner went with the two Queens to the Market Place for the final and greatest jousting. Thirteen knights strove against thirteen. The contest is chiefly memorable for Philip's participation on the side of the Prince of Piedmont, and shoulder to shoulder with the Counts of Egmont, Mansfeld, Hoogstraeten, Croy, and Montignies. Spaniards, Netherlanders, and Burgundians took part. The Emperor and the Queens watched from the windows of the Town House, and all the roofs and windows of the houses round the square were crowded with spectators, while a multitude of folk closed in the lists on every side. Philip showed great valour and broke more lances than any other knight, and the side on which he fought vanquished that captained by the Count of Horn. Hard knocks were said to have been given in the mêlée, but the accounts read as if the show and pageantry of the tournament counted for more than the valour displayed. The tournament was followed by a banquet given by the town in a room specially constructed, hung with tapestry and lighted with many torches and candles. More dancing brought this last day of the festivities to a close.

While the dancing went on in the Town House the common folk made merry in the square below. The Magistrates had put up a make-believe apple-tree, covered with leaves and laden with fruit. In the heart of the tree coiled a fearsome serpent covered with green scales, of horrid aspect, and Adam and Eve stood beneath the tree, life-sized and naked. These two figures

[1] Calvete de Estrella, IV.

were made of wood and were painted with so much skill that they looked alive, and the apples had such a natural appearance that one was tempted to pick them. The tree with its branches and fruit, the serpent, Adam and Eve were hollow, and entirely filled with powder and explosives, so that, while everyone was admiring the contrivance, and without anyone perceiving what was going on, a small flame, starting at Eve's feet, and rapidly reaching her body, caused her to explode with a sound like thunder, throwing into the air thousands of rockets and crackers with a report which for a moment staggered the people standing by. They thought the houses had caught fire. The flames spread from the figure of Eve to the branches of the tree and report followed report.

When the serpent caught fire he vomited great flames, and his belly sent out a gerb of rockets. After they had consumed the branches, the flames attacked the trunk of the tree, and then the figure of Adam, which exploded with a shower of fire, which reduced the whole to cinders and gave the signal to go home to bed. People talked for many a day of these doings at Antwerp.

On Tuesday, the 17th of September, the Emperor and the Queen of France returned to Brussels, but Philip stayed at Antwerp with Mary of Hungary, and on the next day went through the town to inspect the new fortifications, the artillery, and the arsenal. He went with the Regent and all the Court to Bergen-op-Zoom on the 19th on his way to visit the northern Provinces.[1] Both Charles and Philip left Brussels on the 31st of May to go into Germany, and the rest of the year was occupied in great efforts to extract a promise from Ferdinand and the Princes of the Empire to choose Philip as the next King of the Romans, but to no purpose; Philip was invested with the Imperial fiefs of the Netherlands at the Diet of Augsburg in 1551.[2] As we have already seen, the Placard of September 1550 caused the greatest searchings of heart in Antwerp, and other troubles took their place by the side of the menace of religious persecution. In July 1551 precautions had to be taken to prevent the Sweating Sickness, which was then raging in England, from being brought into the town. A procession was held and the Magistrates had to prohibit the issue or distribution of pamphlets and the like dealing with the disease, probably on account of the wrong ideas concerning it which were spread in this way.[3]

During the year it became evident that there would soon be another war with France. In July 1551 Henry II seized all Netherland ships in French ports and hostilities broke out soon afterwards, although there was no formal declaration of war until September (1551).

[1] Calvete de Estrella, IV. [2] Pirenne, III.
[3] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.

The year 1552 began with floods at Antwerp. On the 12th of January, at about seven in the evening, a storm of wind was followed by a heavy thunderstorm, and in the flood which resulted the river rose six inches higher than in 1530, and the dyke of Austruweel gave way. On the 16th of February there was another flood and great damage was done, the Hoboken dyke being broken. Many were drowned in both floods.

Before he began warlike preparations Henry II had raised money in Antwerp for carrying on the war, and a similar course was pursued by the Netherland Government after it had begun. Indeed so much money was raised from the merchants that scarcely any remained in the town, and yet Charles needed more.[1] The pay of the army went in arrears, taxes became high, the price of bread rose, many merchants retired from business, and stagnation of trade set in.[2] The state of war with France made it necessary for the Magistrates in July 1552 to call on all Frenchmen to take oath to Charles and to the town, and at the same time a reward of one hundred gulden was offered for each French spy discovered. In August both poorters and inhabitants were ordered to prepare arms. We see also that food was being dispatched over the Rhine to Charles's army which was conducting the ill-fated siege of Metz. In June of the next year (1553) a procession was ordered to give thanks for the Imperial victory at Terouanne.[3] It is of interest also to note that while this campaign was in progress, the Military Guilds were reconstructed and many who had previously been members were excluded.[4]

The summer saw numbers of troops passing through the town on their way to join the army, and it seems to have been the practice of the inhabitants to overcharge them for food supplied. At all events on the last day of June the Magistrates fixed the price of a meal (not including wine or foreign beer) at 2 stivers. German mercenaries on their way to the army were quartered at Dambrugge, Deurne, and Borgerhout. Precautions were taken in July to prevent the spreading of the plague which had appeared at Cologne, and in September those coming from that neighbourhood were forbidden to enter the town and those who were then on their way to Frankfort Fair were made to wait eight days in quarantine on their return. The dearness of food and the necessity of finding men and money for the war gave rise to discontent in Antwerp, as they did in other parts of the country. The distress was very great, and in 1554 Peter Pot's monks informed the Magistrates that during the war 2,300 to 2,400 poor persons attended the weekly distribution of alms at their monastery, and it was the custom to

[1] See page 295. [2] Henne, X, p. 8, etc.
[3] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[4] "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert.

give to each a pound of bread. They said it was impossible for them to continue doing this.[1]

At the beginning of Lent a codfish cost 4 florins 8 stivers, a pound of butter 2 stivers, a Holland cheese 1 stiver, and even more. Fish soon sank in price, but not so other commodities.[2] Yet trade appears not to have been seriously affected by any of the circumstances which arose. Indeed the prosperity which was manifest during the first five years of Philip's reign could not have been attained in 1555 if it had been purely lack of business which a year before had led traders and shopkeepers to take part in the Van Schoonbeke riots. But the war was irksome, there was scarcity, and the Government seemed inclined to introduce the Inquisition. To these grievances must be added the matter of profit to be made out of brewing beer and the retail price to be paid for it. A rise in the price of beer was at any time enough to throw the town into uproar, and to suggest that beer was of bad quality was enough to make the people rise against the brewers. We have already spoken of the breweries which van Schoonbeke erected in the New Town, and have said that he brought water by boat from Rumpst because that in the New Town was not good and the new Water-House was not completed. The brewing of beer in the New Town threatened the old-established businesses in Brewers' Street and at the same time the Magistrates forbade brewing beer in the suburbs, since on it no excise was payable. Brewers' Street—the present rue des Peignes—contained many breweries at the time—such as the *Looking-Glass*, the *Lily*, the *Key*, the *Star*, the *Sword*, the *Crown*, the *Red Lion*; their ruin was accomplished by the new schemes and they became hotels bearing the same names.

The first beer was brewed in the new breweries, built on the north of the Brewers' Canal, on the 19th of March, 1554. The owners of the old breweries, seeing their gains threatened, put it about among the people that this venture was one put up by the Court through the agency of van Schoonbeke and Doctor Jacob Maes, the Pensionary of the town, and they added that the water used for the beer was not sweet. Charles certainly drew a profit from the new breweries and probably there was jobbery on the part of the Magistrates. The men who had been employed in the old breweries found themselves out of work and a turbulent element began to appear, so that the Magistrates were reviled and threatened. Things might have gone smoothly but Charles gave orders (7th of July, 1554) for the enrolment of 2,000 infantry to be maintained at the cost of the town, and this caused much annoyance.[3] There was uneasiness among the people for the next three days and on the 11th of July at eight o'clock in the evening there was a great uproar,

[1] Papebrochius, II, 403, etc. [2] Bertrjin.
[3] Henne, X, p. 175, and Rawdon Brown, V, 919.

the burghers ran to arms, and the Military Guilds were called out.[1]

The commotion originated in a quarrel on the Market Place between some of the people and the officers or servants of the Magistrates. One of the latter called out that the Magistrates would soon have their way, for on that very evening a company of Spaniards was coming to the town. He added that these men would do what they liked with the women whose husbands would be away in Charles's army.[2] Such a vulgar jest was enough to set the town ablaze. The people who heard it, Guicciardini tells us, were trembling with rage, and the rascal who made it fled for his life into the Town House. A mob collected and tried to break in after him, but he escaped by another door. Soon the whole town was in arms, the better class of burghers supporting the Magistrates, and it was probably their good offices that restored order for the night.

Accounts of the affair differ slightly, but there was a renewal of the disorders on the following day, and it seems to have been at that time that the Pensionary Maes and van Schoonbeke were forced to flee from the mob for safety to the Town House. On that day, too, while the Military Guilds were maintaining order, Herman, the King of the Crossbowmen and landlord of the *Swan* in the Cow Gate Street, was hit on the head by a stone and killed. He was buried in the Franciscans' Church, the Guilds attending his funeral. Van Schoonbeke never recovered his former position, but retired to Brussels, almost ruined. He passed into the Emperor's service, becoming a member of the Council of Finances, and dying in December 1556, hardly thirty-seven years old.[3] The Magistrates had to give way for the moment on all points: Maes was dismissed from office, and the breweries in the suburbs were allowed to work again; also they promised that the soldiers should not be raised in the town. Charles, however, waited his opportunity to punish the people for the outbreak. Guicciardini says that next to van Rossem's invasion and Philip's Joyous Entry, these riots were the most noticeable event which occurred in Antwerp in his time.

The news of the rising reached Charles just when the tide of war was turning in favour of the French and it seemed possible that even Brussels might be threatened. Town after town on the Meuse—Mariemberg, Bouvignes, Dinant—fell, and Antwerp alone in Brabant seemed capable of supporting a siege. When winter put an end to the campaign Charles was at leisure to punish Antwerp for what had happened in the previous summer. Soon after Christmas his indignation was increased by further

[1] "Chronyk van Antwerpen."

[2] Guicciardini; "Chronycke van Nederlant," de Weert; "Annexes concernant les troubles d'Anvers en 1554," Piot.

[3] M. & T. IV, 98, etc.; "Chronyk van Antwerpen."

disorders in the town, and he decided to inflict the severest punishment in his power. To do this he adopted subtle means. He sent several noblemen—the Prince of Orange, the Count of Meghem, the Count of Arenberg and others—separately to the town as if they had come on their own business, but each was well attended. Then were dispatched small companies of men to join the detachments thus surreptitiously introduced. It was with the consent and perhaps at the request of the Magistrates that this was done. When a considerable force had been collected came (6th of February) seven, or perhaps ten, ensigns of German mercenaries under Lazarus Swendi. They broke their journey at Lierre and entered Antwerp secretly in the early morning. Nearly all the following day they stood on the square called Oever before the Mint in order of battle. It was Charles's intention to preside in person over the chastisement of Antwerp as he had done over that of Ghent, but the gout held him a prisoner at Brussels and he sent the Regent instead.[1] Mary arrived, accompanied by the Chancellor of Brabant and several members of the Privy Council. The author of the "Chronyk van Antwerpen" speaks of the mercenaries as "vileynige ende bloede Boeven Hoochduytsche Knechten."

Swendi was a gallant gentleman and could boast of the friendship of Orange, but his companies have the distinction of being the first of many bands of foreigners who during the last half of the century held the town for the Sovereign by force, and on more than one occasion betrayed their trust for their own profit. These men overawed the town while an inquiry was held into the recent riots. In the event the punishment proved less severe than might have been expected. Probably the inquiry showed that the matter was not of such importance as it had been supposed.[2]

On the 1st of April four men were punished on the Market Place—three were whipped for being implicated in the affair, and a hot iron was applied to the tongue of one of them, because he was considered guilty of treason. Other milder punishments were inflicted. But before the executions were completed on the Market Place a commotion arose among the people caused by a blow given to a burgher by one of the Germans who were guarding the scaffold. The two companies on duty fled in panic, but no great damage seems to have resulted.[3]

The Bishop of Arras had joined the Regent at Antwerp and they had planned certain reforms in the government of the town. All the concessions made at the time of the riots were annulled and all went back to its former state, but when the Bench of Magistrates was renewed its reconstruction seems to have met with approval. On the 24th of May the German

[1] Turnbull, Mary, No. 323.
[2] Meteren, folio 15.
[3] "Chronyk van Antwerpen."

mercenaries left Antwerp, and many young women with whom they had become acquainted during their stay went back to Germany with them. So completely had the Magistrates won their point that on the following 5th of December—that is to say, after Charles's abdication, and just before Philip paid his visit to the town as ruling prince—they were able to order that the town should take one-quarter of the profits of the breweries in the New Town—thereby making it certain that these institutions would thereafter receive their favour—and decree that no one should brew beer within a three-mile radius outside the town, except poorters brewing for their own families in their own houses, or bring beer into Antwerp. Mechlin and certain foreign beer might be brought in.[1] In this very month van Schoonbeke died. The practice of drinking outside the town beer on which excise was not payable was one continually aimed at by the Magistrates' ordinances.

It is interesting to note that about this time steps had to be taken to regulate the wine-selling business. All were made to set forth what kind of wine they sold on a signboard before their houses, and one sort of wine was not to be substituted for a better. They were also ordered to adopt the following signs to show that they sold certain wines: Crowns of ivy indicated Rhine wine; water-lilies French wines; cabbage leaves Poitou wine; and a bundle of straw local wines.[2] But beer was always the principal drink of the Antwerper, and a famous kind of Antwerp-brewed beer which was very generous and went quickly to the head was that called dolle and knol. Others were double-knol, kuyte, hoochsel, and poorters' hoochsel.

The exigencies of war and the disturbances in the town were not by any means the only subjects which engaged the attention of the Englishmen in Antwerp during the last two years of Charles's reign, for news from home was of a very interesting kind. Queen Mary ascended the English throne in July 1553, and events in England were closely watched by the merchants. Great alarm was felt among them at the news of Wyatt's rebellion in the following January and there were great rejoicings at its failure. That at least was the official attitude taken up at the English House, but there were many who sorrowed to see a Catholic on the English throne and several young Englishmen were talking very wildly on the matter, openly expressing their disapproval of the proposed Spanish marriage. Scuffles with the Spaniards had become common, and having got the worst of it in one of them the English were to be heard expressing their "discontentation" with the whole Spanish nation.[3] But such talk soon died down in face of the attitude adopted by the English people after Wyatt's rebellion. There was some fear

[1] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[2] Papebrochius, II, 395.
[3] Turnbull, Mary, No. 84.

among those who were not prepared to discard their Protestantism as quickly as they could put off their garments that some harm might be done them now that the Sovereigns of both England and the Netherlands were Catholics, and this fear was no doubt strengthened by the news of the proposed Spanish marriage. Charles had returned to his earlier design of separating the Netherlands from the rest of his dominions, and the marriage contract provided that the eldest son of the marriage between Philip and Mary should succeed to England and the Provinces, while Spain and Italy should fall to the son of Philip's earlier marriage.[1] Evidently Charles realized that Spaniards and Netherlanders could not be made to love one another. The marriage was celebrated on the 25th of July, 1554, and on the 19th of December a procession was held at Antwerp to give thanks for the restoration of the Catholic religion in England.[2]

On the 2nd of May, 1555, news reached Antwerp that Mary had borne a son, and on the next day the Regent, who was in the town to punish those who had taken part in the riots, ordered the great bell to be rung to give all men to understand that the news was true. On the first hint of it the English merchants had caused all their ships to be put in readiness to show some worthy triumph upon the water, and when they heard the great bell they ordered salutes to be fired in the presence of the Regent and all the nobles and her gentlewomen, she in turn sending 100 crowns for the English mariners to drink.[3] But the news was untrue. On the 25th of October, 1555, Charles abdicated, bestowing the Seventeen Provinces and the County of Burgundy on Philip, and at the same time Mary of Hungary laid down the office of Regent. Charles had already conferred Naples and Milan on Philip, and he gave the rest of his dominions in the following June. At the stately ceremony at which Charles said farewell to his fellow-countrymen and subjects the spokesman of the States-General was Jacob Maes, restored to his office of Pensionary of Antwerp. Whatever faults he may have had he was recognized as a fine orator, and it was he who in 1540 had spoken in the name of the town before the Hansa Diet, in the attempt to induce the merchants of the League to quit Bruges for Antwerp.

[1] Moke, "Histoire de la Belgique," p. 340.
[2] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[3] Turnbull, Mary, No. 354.

CHAPTER XIV

ANTWERP, THE "MART-TOWN," UNDER MARY OF HUNGARY—TRADE AND COMMERCE

THE Treaty of Cambrai (1529) had removed the likelihood of war with France and another commercial treaty restored relations with England, so that soon after Mary of Hungary's Regency began all things seemed to promise prosperity. In fact, during the next ten years the tranquillity of the merchants was only disturbed three times by war—that is to say, when the Baltic was cut off on one occasion; when Charles of Egmont gave some final trouble just before his death; and when a short war broke out with France. That there were fears of all kinds goes without saying—of both war and insurrection. This Regency began well for those using the Scheldt, for in 1533 Charles ceded to the town a further portion of Riddertol.

After the war following the League of Fontainebleau, which by van Rossem's raid gave Antwerp such a shock, the town settled down to a time of peace which was quite unexampled, so that when the next French war broke out (1551) the business men had made their position so sure that neither the discontent which made itself felt in the van Schoonbeke riots nor the war had any effect on the town's welfare, and all things made towards the glorious apogee which was heralded by Philip's visit in 1549.

French Merchants

In years of peace French merchants flocked to Antwerp. Most of their merchandise came down the rivers, but Bordeaux wine came by sea; and while England and France were at war this branch of trade was almost ruined. Wine was the chief article sent by France. When to the horror of Christendom Francis formed an alliance with the Turk he was jeered at in Antwerp as the Turco-French Mameluke and the greatest of Mohammedans, and songs upon him could be bought at Peter Snoeys' shop in the Lombards' Rampart. It was apparently this friendliness which led to the French King's granting leave to the Great Turk's subjects to trade in France, from which

incredible profit accrued to the French, and the spice trade of Antwerp and Flanders had suffered seriously by 1542.[1]

Trade with England

At the time Mary took up the Regency the Netherlanders had as usual many complaints as to the treatment they received in England, and Commissioners were appointed on both sides to settle disputes. The complaints of the Emperor's subjects were to the effect that new duties had been imposed on merchandise brought into England and that they were compelled to buy English wares with the purchase-money they received, since export of coin was forbidden, and that they had even to pay export duties on the goods so bought. An export duty had been put on wool which made the price almost prohibitive, and there was a lot of fraud as to its sale, for the buyers were not allowed to examine it or to be present when it was packed, and so on. The Emperor's Commissioners were instructed to arrange for English wool to be brought in as cheaply as possible and for English cloth to be taxed heavily on arrival.[2] The complaints as to the bad and false quality of the English wool and other things continued for some time. Such were the disputes which the new commercial arrangement between the two countries was designed to settle a few months after Mary became Regent. Things then worked more smoothly until Henry VIII put away Catherine of Aragon, when the anger of the Catholics rose to such a height that the English merchants had good ground for fearing that they might suffer for the King's fault. In November 1533 English merchants passing through Gravelines on their way to Antwerp were told by the Captain of that town that if Henry did not take back his wife in thirty days it would be his advice to the English to travel by some other route, or better still to stay at home, for he would arrest them.[3] But however much Catherine's wrongs appealed to Charles, and however much he respected the Papal Brief, he knew how necessary it was to preserve commercial relations with England. The authorities gave a back-hand blow to England, as they could always do if so inclined, by allowing the Scots to buy munitions of war and artillery in the town.

The English thought, rightly or wrongly, that they were not receiving as much consideration as of old at the hands of the Antwerpers. This they attributed to the wealth which had come to the town (by means of English trade for the most part), and they felt that now they were despised. Even personal violence was offered to merchants and some of them favoured

[1] Gairdner, XVII, No. 517.
[2] Gairdner, V, No. 828.
[3] Gairdner, VI, No. 1493.

the plan of resorting more constantly to the marts of Bergen-op-Zoom. These marts had lost much of their former importance, partly by reason of the short time now spent at them by the English. The merchants at one time had gone there for both the Easter and the Cold Mart, but by now there was hardly any mart at all. Merchants now lived at Antwerp and only went over to Bergen-op-Zoom for the marts, " to the great advantage of one and decay of the other " town. The authorities of Bergen-op-Zoom held out inducements to the English to return, but nothing came of them.

On the 8th of June, 1537, a commercial agreement was come to between the merchants of the English Nation and the town of Antwerp.

At the August Mart, 1538, the sale of English cloth was so satisfactory that William Lok wrote to Henry VIII to tell him that although the Easterlings got in before the English and " scathyd " them in their sales for more than £2,000, yet they hoped to bring home over £3,000 sterling in angels and ducats. They were taking up all the angels they could by giving a penny apiece for them, and it seemed as if these coins would disappear from circulation in Antwerp. At the same time the Staplers at Calais had sold their wool well, and were to bring home a store of gold crowns.[1] English agents continued to buy war-material in the town, including copper, a commodity of which the Fuggers had managed to get the complete monopoly. As we have already noted, the Courtmaster of the English Merchants did not await the Guelders attack on the town in 1542, but sought safety in England, for which desertion Henry cast him into prison. The election of his successor led to a dispute, for the Privy Council tried to get a nominee appointed who was approved by the Adventurers resident in London, but was not accepted by the younger members of the Company at Antwerp.

The Treaty of London (11th of February, 1543) ranged England and the Netherlands on one side in the contest with France and Guelders, but disputes were continually arising between their merchants. The English made great complaint about a tax of the hundredth penny which the Regent had thought fit to impose on all merchandise exported, to meet the expenses of the war and the new defences of Antwerp, for they said that the Intercursus exempted their nation from such burdens.[2] Mary urged that the English ought to pay it willingly since they took to Antwerp more than they took away, and she declared herself willing to accept the word of a merchant as to what the value of his cargo was without search made by the customers.[3] Yet English merchants were doing good business with the sale of cloths even while Charles was waging war in Guelders, and

[1] Gairdner, XIII, Part II, No. 47.
[2] Gairdner, XVIII, Part I, No. 331. [3] *Ibid.* No. 487.

so cutting to some extent the route to Germany. The merchants said that attempts such as this to impose the hundredth penny had cost their Company £40,000 in times past, but they agreed to give the Regent a "benevolence" of £1,000 Flemish, that is to say £750 sterling, in lieu of the tax.[1]

Henry was now preparing to invade France in conjunction with Charles, and the Regent could not afford to quarrel with him. She therefore freed the merchants from the tax on such of their wares as were shipped to be sold in England—the merchants' word on the matter being sufficient to pass them through—telling them to keep secret the fact of her having granted them such an exemption.[2] It is a pity that so many small obstacles were placed in the way of that freedom of trade which had been the foundation of Antwerp commerce. The 1 per cent. impost continued, as we might expect, to be a source of difficulty and dispute even after the Regent had released the English from the payment of it. We find that in June 1543 they were complaining that their privileges were being infringed in that they were being required (1) to take oath that they carried only their own goods; (2) to give a list of the wares they were transporting with the price paid and an account of the purchase; (3) to promise that the merchandise should be carried nowhere but to England, and that it should be sold and distributed there; and (4) to pay the impost on what was shipped before the Regent released them from the tax.[3]

Another complaint made against the Regent was to the effect that she granted too many safe-conducts to French merchants to bring goods to the Netherlands, the English being annoyed at this favour being extended to a nation with whom both England and the Netherlands were at war.[4] She said that she allowed the French to trade because without their coming the Germans and other nations would suffer great loss. The trade of the French at Antwerp was not very large, but they sent a great deal of wine to the town, and the real object Mary had in view when granting the safe-conducts was to be found in the fact that the war in Guelders prevented Rhine wine coming to Antwerp, which not only meant a scarcity throughout the Netherlands and an injury to trade, but also would hamper her in the preparations she was beginning for the commissariat of the army to invade France. The Netherland ships which brought wine from Bordeaux went back laden with herrings, which was another cause of annoyance to Henry, as amounting to supplying food to the enemy. Throughout the summer the English channel was full of French ships of war, and Henry claimed that it was his exertions alone that prevented their closing the passage to Antwerp. Antwerp suffered to a certain

[1] Gairdner, XVIII, Part I, No. 655.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 731.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 756.
[4] *Ibid.* No. 736, etc.

degree when Charles (7th of May, 1544) proclaimed the Scots his enemies at Henry's request. All sorts of dodging went on with regard to French ships. When they were captured by Henry, as likely as not someone in Antwerp—perhaps Gaspar Ducci—would claim the cargo as his, this "colouring of other men's goods" under a false name being very common.

To show the extent of the industry of herring-export we can see figures set out on behalf of Ducci in 1545.[1] Six ships laden with herrings which he claimed to be his property were captured by the English on their way to France from the Netherlands. Five were sold in England and the sixth was lost.

	£	s.	d.	
Altogether there were 542 lasts 9 barrels of herrings on board,[2] which had cost him (according to his claim) .	4,613	7	6	gros.
Besides this he claimed for cost of packing and freight .	814	2	6	,,
Cost of safe-conducts and customs	1,085	10	0	,,
Costs of the suit to recover what he had lost . . .	300	0	0	,,
Interest for one year upon £6,813 gros at 16 per cent. .	181	13	7	,,
Profit which should have been made by sale in France .	3,256	10	0	,,
	£10,251	3	7	,,

The ships which were to carry the English to the war in France were to be supplied in Antwerp, but Charles backed out of his alliance with Henry and left him to carry on the war alone for two years. Henry had good cause to feel himself aggrieved at the Emperor's desertion and the year 1545 saw many acts of a hostile nature committed against Antwerp merchants. The year had hardly opened when news came that Antwerp ships had been embargoed in English ports.[3] Henry excused himself by saying that they were laden with herrings for France and that several ships of his had been captured at sea. The Emperor immediately replied by arresting the English ships and merchandise in his dominions. John Sturgeon, the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, Stephen Vaughan, William Dansell and other merchants at Antwerp were arrested at dinner in the English House on Twelfth Night by the Schout, and the arrest continued until the 6th of April, but it was by Charles's order imposed very gently, and after having done his office the Schout "gently took his leave." The Schout ordered that no goods should be taken out of the English House, and he made no search among Vaughan's possessions. He had already visited Dansell's lodging and sealed up his counting-house, and he did the same to all the other Englishmen. Most of them were, however, at Bergen-op-Zoom for the mart, but they did not escape similar treatment there. The two Burgo-

[1] Gairdner, XX, Part I, No. 711.

[2] Antwerp measure was 2 fyrkins = 1 kynderkyn, 2 kynderkyns = 1 barrel; 12 barrels = 1 last.

[3] See p. 257.

masters came with some skepyns and explained to John Sturgeon that the cause of the arrest was the seizure of ships by the English. Not only were members of the Company arrested, but also Henry's agents who were in the town for the purpose of raising money. After the arrest Vaughan wrote to the English Privy Council that all merchants in Antwerp were "in a marvellous stay, the Bourse unhaunted, their hearts damped and made cold with the great fear that they had never to recover again such things as were taken upon the seas."

All the inhabitants of the town "shronke" at what had been done, fearing that it would entail the utter decay of traffic. Great numbers of fullers, shearmen, dyers, and others thought their living was taken from them, so that if it had continued a little longer it would have greatly changed the town. It was said by those who felt the strain of it that it was better to have twenty years of war with France than one with England. The herring-ships seized by Henry on their way to France seem to have been admitted fair prize by most of the Antwerp owners, and if they recovered compensation they admitted they were surprised and even expressed the view that it was extortion to accept it. Ducci, however, who was the "chief parler" against the seizures, exerted his great influence at court to get the arrest of Englishmen continued until he was compensated for the loss of his herrings. Seizure of ships went on even after orders had been given for the arrest to be removed, and while Charles and the Regent were in Antwerp in April there were bitter complaints that ships were being captured by the English, especially as to one from the Indies worth 50,000 ducats. The English were at this moment unable to sell cloth and so could not produce money they had promised to lend their King, and in other ways their credit was impaired. Also during the Emperor's stay in the town attempts were made to levy from the English the twentieth penny which the Emperor took on the rent of each house. They answered that they "kept no house, but hired a packhouse within others."

The Magistrates' officers stripped one of the merchants of his cloak in the street and took garments from the chambers of others to pay the tax. Appeal was made to the Magistrates, but they could not listen as they were "all day leading the Emperor about the town," showing him the new fortifications. But on the next day the Schout came to see the Courtmaster and promised to punish the town officers and get the Magistrates to grant redress. Half an hour later he came again and said the Magistrates were sorry and that he must be informed if they were molested again. After dinner on this day a rumour spread among the merchants that the officers were going to break open their packhouses and pay the tax out of the contents. The hour was too late to approach the Magistrates and so the Court-

master sent to the Schout to ask whether the Magistrates "did afore noon mock him or me" (to use his own words), for the officers said they had nothing to do with the Schout but did their office in the Emperor's name. On this the Schout sent for the officers, made them restore the property they had taken, and let loose a man they had put in prison; and the Magistrates promised to give satisfaction when the Emperor had gone.

While at Antwerp in April Charles entered into commercial arrangements with the King of Scotland, after having been his enemy at Henry's behest. This had the advantage of drawing Scotch trade from Hamburg. An attempt was made to keep the treaty secret and the Scotch Ambassador lodged at an inn among the waggoners and went little abroad, yet mariners at Antwerp were talking of it by the middle of May. While the arrest was in force a member of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, named Thomas Hawkins, was persuaded by his wife to save his goods by becoming a subject of the Emperor—presumably a poorter of Antwerp. For this the Courtmaster expelled him from the Company as one who had forsaken the King. The young man repented and wished to put off what he had done, but the Courtmaster would not re-admit him until he had satisfied the King and Council. The young man was one of the "soberest, towardest, and likest a merchant of all the Company." In April the arrest was officially taken off and Commissioners were appointed on both sides to discuss outstanding questions, but ships and merchandise were still arrested.

We find that while at Wurms in June 1545 Charles was receiving daily complaints of depredations made upon his subjects by the English and he was told that the English merchants were withdrawing their property from his dominions. In truth the English were becoming weary of the difficulties which encompassed them, and the trade of the town had been much injured by the collecting of a fleet of three hundred sail by Henry, for probably all the English ships and seamen had passed into the King's service. So the merchants could not carry on a maritime trade as usual. As a matter of fact the Courtmaster declared that no Englishman had withdrawn any merchandise. The Emperor ordered the Chancellor of Brabant to go to Antwerp to see if the English were removing their goods and his coming made the merchants think another arrest was contemplated. At 2 a.m. on the 4th of July two of his friends came to Vaughan's bedside and told him that a fresh arrest was to be made that day. Vaughan expected it would take place at dinner-time, that is to say between 12 and 1 o'clock, when all the merchants would be in the English House for the meal, but nothing happened. On his part Henry arrested all the Netherland ships in the Thames and English ports, saying he needed them to carry his soldiers to France, and seized ships at sea.

In July 1545 a rupture between England and the Netherlands seemed imminent and the English merchants began to flock home from Antwerp, but at the end of July the arrest was taken off on both sides, and in August English agents were bringing arquebuses through Antwerp from Italy consigned as sugar with Charles's connivance. All merchandise had to risk the chance of an encounter with French ships in the Channel. Whenever they could the English agents were sending over munitions of war, and musters of men were being made for Henry in Germany through German captains at Antwerp, and the raising of money to pay these men added to the great business the English were doing in this year. The difficulties encountered in actually getting possession of the money borrowed in Antwerp provided material for a great deal of correspondence. Even when there was peace it was not always possible to permit a large amount of specie to leave the country, and those who were responsible for the safety of the town had to look to it that too much gunpowder was not exported.

In every country in Europe there was dearth in the early part of 1546 and the Netherland and the Baltic provinces had to be scoured for food for England. Vaughan entered into contracts with Erasmus Schetz to supply wheat and rye, and it was necessary to ship dairy produce as well. The buying of bacon became as much Dansell's anxiety as the buying of copper, serpentine powder, pikes, and saltpetre, and what he could obtain had to be shipped at dead of night, lest it should come to the ears of the French and be counted against the Regent as a breach of neutrality. In April Vaughan writes to secretary Paget that forty or fifty Antwerp merchants of all nations especially "such as are surers (insurers) of men's goods by sea" have been to the Magistrates of the town to complain of the robberies committed at sea by Henry's sailors and some have gone to complain to the Privy Council at Brussels. According to their complaints they had lost in this way 35,000 Flemish Crowns between February and the middle of April, mostly taken from ships coming to the Netherlands from Spain and Italy. They asserted that it was the habit of dealers to wait at the English ports to buy up the plunder as it was brought in and so there was no chance of their recovering their property.[1]

A blow was given to Antwerp commerce from an opposite direction in the summer when it became known that Charles was preparing to make war on the Protestants in Germany and merchants feared to send merchandise into that country. Indeed nothing was talked of in Antwerp in June but the coming war and the effect it would have on trade, the interest of the commercial community being of course much heightened by the borrowings being made by Charles in the town for the purposes

[1] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, Nos. 578, 615.

of the war. In June Italian merchants whose waggons were already on their way to Italy sent posts to stop them before they came on to German soil.[1] This was to the detriment of the sale of English cloth, for at the time Germany took the greater part of what was sent to Antwerp, and in consequence many English merchants found it difficult to make payments which they had promised.[2] Nothing was talked of in the town but armies and horses.[3] In July (1546) hostilities ceased between England and France.

By the 11th of July trade was at a standstill in Antwerp and there was no sale for English cloth, but it was conjectured that the Emperor would give up the idea of war in Germany when he learnt the strength of the Protestants.[4] Perhaps the cause was rooted in the depression of trade or it may have been for some reason which we know nothing of, but at this time the English mariners were subjected to gross ill-treatment by the townsmen, so that they could not leave their ships without risk. It began with a couple of English mariners being set upon by some others of Antwerp and by a mob. They were driven by showers of stones to their ships, whither they were followed by "a thousand persons gaping and looking upon them," so the English met force with force and shot arrows among the crowd "whereof 3 or 4 were prettily hurt." Vaughan complained to the Schout and Burgomasters and they promised to enquire into the matter, but did nothing. "No people I think (writes Vaughan) in all the world, being so evil dealt with as the King's Majesty's subjects be here, would so miserably continue their traffic in this town as they do."[5] So unpopular did the English become that for safety they had to go through the streets armed and in parties, for they were constantly set upon and outraged by the inhabitants and the Magistrates did not take sufficient measures to remedy the state of things. Ill words were being spoken against Henry and thoughtful persons saw that if this went on the English would have to depart to some other town.[6] Hans van den Helm, whose escape from the Steen has been described, was executed at this time, but his assault on the Englishman in the Cow Gate was probably not the offence which brought him to the scaffold, and no one else seems to have paid for his lawlessness towards the English with his life. Outrages were perpetrated on the river, stones being thrown at ships and their cables cut.[7] On the 12th of August, 1546, Vaughan wrote that all the merchants were getting weary of Antwerp and that it would now be an easy matter to induce them to desert it for

[1] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1113. See *infra*, p. 284, which deals with the position of German merchants in Antwerp during the war.
[2] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1210.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 1237.
[4] *Ibid.* No. 1261.
[5] *Ibid.* No. 1284.
[6] "Calendar of State Papers, England and Spain," VIII, No. 296.
[7] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1390.

some English town, if they were favoured there, which would be greatly to the profit of the English if properly managed.[1]

The English put up with these inconveniences for a long time and withdrew from the town only in the beginning of 1548. Their departure caused the Regent to interfere on their behalf and insist on the Magistrates scrupulously observing for the future the agreements they had made with the English, and in August (1548) a new commercial agreement was signed.

The year 1547 saw Charles's complete overthrow of the German Protestants as well as the death of Henry VIII and Francis I. When war broke out in 1551 between the Emperor and the French King the English were put to further inconvenience. On this occasion it was due to Placards issued against the export of victuals needed for the army. These the English merchants regarded as unnecessary and as bearing more hardly on them than any Placards of a like nature published in times past. They complained that merchandise not needed for the army was stopped—sweet wines, spices, sugar. Charles had a grievance against England at this moment because of the way his niece, Mary Tudor, had been treated, but he denied knowledge of merchandise being arrested improperly.

Sir Thomas Chamberlain suggested to King Edward VI's Council in November 1551 that the English merchants should endeavour to direct their enterprises to other ports until the war was over, "for truly these people will never know what they have of us until they lack us."[2] The correspondence of the merchants at Antwerp shows that about this time the chief concern of those informing the Council was to raise money there. This had superseded all other interests which the Council had in the commercial affairs of the town, but a quantity of munitions of war was still exported to England—the description of some of it being perhaps only a disguise under which specie travelled. In 1551 it was reported to the Regent that Dansell, the Courtmaster, had two or three hundred tons of powder stored in the Tanners' Tower and was sending it little by little to England. In spite of quarrels, trade between the two countries was in no way languishing and the quantity of metal, mostly tin and lead, exported annually to Antwerp from England was estimated by a Venetian Ambassador to value 2,000,000 of gold.[3] The disappointment expressed by the younger men among the English merchants at the accession of a Catholic to the English throne and their open hostility to the Spanish marriage led to brawls between them and the Spaniards in November 1553.

Sir John Mason suggested to the Council that someone should be sent to Antwerp at whose hands the young men might receive a lesson which would teach them how to temper their tongues

[1] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1449. [2] Turnbull, Ed. VI, No. 473.
[3] Rawdon Brown, V, p. 354.

in future. The older men, however, kept their counsel to themselves and regretted the disturbed state of affairs in England when Wyatt's rebellion sent down Mary's credit on the Bourse. When news came that the insurgents had entered Southwark many of the merchants began to prepare for departure and to sell their effects in haste.[1] Apparently their anxiety to leave the town was due to the fear that their well-known leanings towards Protestantism might bring down on them Charles's displeasure in the event of Mary losing the throne. Charles assured them that they would be left in security, but with all gentleness forbade them to depart without his leave. When news came of Wyatt's overthrow they gave wine and money to the people and caused bonfires to be lighted in the streets and salutes to be fired.[2] Now that Spain was courting England even the need of munitions for the war which the Emperor was waging against France did not lead him to forbid Mary's agents exporting gunpowder and arms, and we find Sir Thomas Gresham obtaining passports to ship such things even when there was a scarcity of them in Antwerp. As soon as it appeared that Mary sat securely upon the throne and the time for her marriage with Philip drew near the merchants expressed themselves horrified at hearing that a report was current to the effect that some of their number had spoken disloyally of her. They professed to have endeavoured to discover the offenders and humbly desired to be informed what names had been communicated to the Council.[3] Those accused said the informers must be enemies and rivals in business. Some, however, did not disguise their opinions.

On the 2nd of May, 1555, a false report reached Antwerp to the effect that Mary had borne a son. During the summer ships were being stayed at Antwerp in consequence of a rumour that the King of France intended to hinder Philip's passage from England when he returned to take over the Provinces from his father, and in August a rumour reached Antwerp that a French fleet actually lay between Dover and Calais, but he made the journey safely in the following month.

The total export of woollen cloth out of England amounted to about 80,000 pieces at Henry VIII's accession and it rose to more than 120,000 pieces during his reign, and the greater part of it went to Antwerp.[4] An inquiry ordered by Charles in 1550 showed that in Antwerp alone at least 20,000 persons lived for the most part on the trade brought by the English.[5] The trade done between England and Antwerp amounted to some 12,000,000 crowns a year.[6]

[1] Rawdon Brown, V, No. 855.
[2] Burgon, "Life of Gresham," I, p. 166.
[3] Turnbull, Mary, Nos. 217 and 219.
[4] See Ashley, "Economic History," Part II, p. 225.
[5] Wheeler on "Commerce," p. 24.
[6] Génard, II, 455.

The Scotch Merchants

Passing from the English to the Scotch we find that the Magistrates were always anxious to attract the commerce of this nation from Veere to Antwerp, and with this object they offered advantages if James V would allow his subjects to trade there. Their presence in the town in fact depended upon whether they or the English were for the moment friends with Charles. Sometimes, as in 1545, when Charles wished to do some injury to Henry VIII, an agreement with the Scotch King, allowing his subjects to trade freely in Antwerp and to export arms, was an agreeable method to adopt.

Trade with the Baltic and the Merchants of the Hansa

The Hollanders were cut off from the trade with the North by the closing of the Sound by Frederick of Holstein in 1531, in consequence of the help they had given to Christian II when preparing his expedition to recover his Kingdom of Denmark. Although the Sound was only closed against the Hollanders, Margaret ordered Brabant, Flanders, and Zeland not to treat separately with Frederick and caused the arrest of the Osterling ships in her ports, since it was at the request of the League that Frederick had closed the Sound. By such a course Antwerp trade was seriously affected, for no Baltic produce came down to be re-imported to other countries, and it became too dangerous for the fishing boats to go to sea, so that the supply of the two chief articles of food—wheat and herrings—was suspended. Neither Antwerp nor Brabant could be induced to supply funds for the war which the Hollanders had brought upon themselves, and Antwerp not only refused to expel Lübeckers, but continued to trade with them in spite of orders to the contrary.

Eventually a treaty was made with Christian III, Frederick's successor, on the 9th of September, 1533 (Treaty of Ghent), and the Sound was re-opened. It was closed again in 1536 but opened in 1537 by the Treaty of Brussels. Again in 1546 the King of Denmark closed the Sound, but his object on this occasion was not merely to injure the Netherlanders, but also to keep plenty of corn in Germany for the use of the Protestants who were preparing war against the Emperor. Christian III sent troops to help van Rossem in 1542 and prepared a fleet to invade Holland, but his help counted for little and the Treaty of Spire (1544) put an end to disputes between Denmark and the Netherlands.[1] So the trade with the North was little disturbed during Mary's Regency, and the plentiful supply of Baltic produce did much to

[1] Altmeyer, "Histoire des Relations Commerciales," etc.

help the great increase effected in Antwerp's commerce during that period. Very often Antwerp gained at the expense of Holland, whose mariners were ever incurring the jealousy of the Hansa, so that the latter missed no opportunity to persuade the King of Denmark to close the Sound against them if not against those of Antwerp or other Netherland ports. Even when the Sound was officially closed against all the Netherlands the Hollanders had the mortification of seeing great ships from the Baltic making their way each day up the Scheldt to Antwerp. The place which the mercantile marine of the Hansa had held in the North of Europe had long been threatened by that of Holland, and the latter finally captured it after 1537.

The removal of the principal Netherland Counter of the League from Bruges to Antwerp in 1545 was a belated attempt to recover its position. The Dutch mercantile marine indeed rapidly became the finest in Europe, carrying wheat and wood from the Baltic, wines and salt from Bordeaux, and going with Netherland manufactures and Baltic produce to the Mediterranean, Madeira, and the Azores. Amsterdam became the great entrepôt for cereals and Middleburg for French wines.[1] The Hollanders' carrying trade increased ten-fold between 1537 and 1547. Yet the position of the Hansa in England was still strong enough to permit of their being able to cut in with the sale of cloth at Antwerp when the goods of the English had been arrested, as in January and February 1545, a matter which caused great impatience among the English, for the Frankfort merchants were arriving to carry cloth to Frankfort Fair, which opened on Lady Day.[2] The Hansa continued to occupy houses in the Old Corn Market until in 1564 they built the magnificent Hanseatic House in the New Town. It was the custom of the Hansa merchants to go each morning in a body to hear Mass at the Dominican Church and to go each evening to Bourse preceded by a troop of musicians playing fifes and viols.[3]

Trade with Germany

Antwerp's trade with Upper Germany and by German roads and rivers to Italy increased greatly during this period, but it suffered serious interruption in 1543 during Charles's invasion of Guelders and again in 1546 and the following years during the War of Smalcald. By the middle of June 1546 the reports of Charles's intentions as to the Protestants had caused merchants to stop sending goods into Germany, but the German merchants themselves were assured by the Regent that they and their wares would be safe notwithstanding the war.[4] The letters

[1] Pirenne, III, 255.
[2] Gairdner, XX, Part I, No. 164.
[3] Thys.
[4] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1135.

which came to the German merchants from home usually arrived every Sunday or Monday, but at this time they were often delayed to their great inconvenience, and it was doubtful whether this was done by the Emperor or by the Protestants.[1] Germany's chief imports to Antwerp were still fustians and copper, the latter being entirely in the hands of the Fuggers, who would run the price up when the agents of the Kings of England, France, or Portugal were bidding for it to make cannon. Many of the great German firms had relinquished commerce for finance, but the wagons of the Hessian merchants continued carrying large quantities of merchandise into Germany for distribution, and the Fuggers owned many ships. Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Cologne were the German towns of chief commercial importance in those days.

The Italian Merchants

Like the Germans, the Italians were tempted to relinquish ordinary trading for the money business, and some of them, notably the Genoese, acquired an eminence in it which bade fair to equal that of some of the richest Germans, but others still clung to trade, particularly the importing of silk and velvet fabrics. Some of the trade ventures of the Italians were of a highly speculative nature.

Portuguese Merchants

Gaspar Ducci's speculative enterprises had shaken the credit of the King of Portugal's factor in 1539 and 1540. We know little about the spice trade. Great as was the profit made by the King of Portugal by carrying spices by sea to Lisbon from the Orient, it was nothing compared with that which he might have made if he had brought them to northern Europe instead of selling them to the speculators at Lisbon. The wealth of the Portuguese merchants—who themselves went in largely for the pepper business—can be estimated from the huge fortunes acquired by the Portuguese Jews. Much of the persecution to which these men were subjected was merely a pretext for extorting money from them. The Magistrates feared the spice trade might be moved and therefore were very anxious that the Portuguese Jews should not be spied upon or molested. Ships came from Portugal nearly every day.

The King of Portugal was able to keep the monopoly of the pepper trade in his own hands, but not that of other East Indian spices, for they were still brought overland in small quantities to Italy. All through Charles's reign we find that the English

[1] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1375.

cloth and the Lisbon spices formed the backbone of Antwerp commerce.

Trade with Spain

The products of the New World had to pass through Seville, and at this time the trade could only be carried on by Castilians, while that of Barbary had to pass through Cadiz. So much merchandise was brought to the Netherlands by way of Spain and from Spain that the merchants of that nation resident in the country outnumbered those of any other nation. By the Emperor's orders Bruges still continued to be the town to which Spanish wool was taken. It was in the middle of Charles's reign that Spanish wine was first brought to the Netherlands in any quantity. The only official document which we have to throw light on the volume of trade during Mary's Regency is the account of the revenue collected from the 1 per cent. tax in 1543 and 1544 on merchandise leaving the Netherlands. By this we are told that the value of the shipments made by Antwerp during that time amounted to 4,990,255 livres de gros de Flandre, i.e. 29,941,530 Carolus gulden, which represented four-fifths of the total shipments of the Netherlands, while the exports of Bruges only reached 30,726 livres de gros.[1]

The figures given by historians of the trade of Antwerp cover a stretch of years which each thought to be the height of the town's greatness. The apogee of her glory may be taken to be a period from 1550 to 1560—that is to say, the five years preceding the Emperor's abdication and the five years during which his son occupied the throne before the religious trouble grew so great that uncertainty as to the future caused men to seek other towns in which to carry on their business. A list of merchandise imported and exported will be given in the chapter which describes Philip's first coming to the town as Sovereign-Prince, and it is only necessary here to state as concisely as possible such developments of the town's business as mark Mary's Regency and seem to call for special mention.

The weaving industry had decayed by 1544 in Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, Courtrai, Brussels, and Louvain, but an industry in cheaper and coarser cloths had sprung up in the villages and smaller towns such as Bergues, Armentières, Hondschote, and all the cloth made in Flanders was sent to Antwerp for distribution. In some cases the cloth was bought by merchants in Antwerp and in others the weavers had their agent and establishment in the town to enable them to trade directly with the buyer. England was now the maker of all the finer cloths. The weaving industry had fared in like manner in Tournai, Lille, Valenciennes, and

[1] Pirenne, III, 264, etc., and Schanz, "Englische Handelspolitik," etc., I, 45.

Mons, and these towns sent much cheap cloth to Antwerp. Also a great quantity of linen came to Antwerp during the first half of the century, for there was a great awakening of the industry.[1] We are reminded by the Regent's prohibition in 1540 of the sending of Oudenarde tapestry to Antwerp—made with a view to punishing the Flemish town—that this noble industry was in a flourishing state in Flanders. Most of the English cloth which came to Antwerp was unwrought, and the dyeing and finishing of it were industries which throve in the town. No industry had brought greater honour to the town since the fifteenth century than that of the goldsmiths and jewellers. Just as one desirous of raising money on jewels went to the Scheldt-town for that purpose, so would-be purchasers of jewellers' or of goldsmiths' work sought there what they needed. In 1532 an Englishman sent Cromwell from Antwerp the best turquoise he could meet with at the Mart. An agent of Lady Lisle's is found buying her a stomacher and three ounces of Venice gold, the gold costing twelve shillings. On her way through Antwerp Anne of Cleves was joined by John "of Antwerp," a celebrated German jeweller who came to England with her and made among other things a collar and George for Cromwell at the cost of £7 6s.[2]

In August 1554 the Ambassador of the Queen of Poland bought an organ in Antwerp for 3,000 crowns and goldsmiths' work to the amount of 6,000 crowns to give to the Queen of England. The Ambassador was on his way to England in the hope of persuading Philip to give the Regency of the Kingdom of Naples to the Queen of Poland. At the time of his abdication Charles sent to Antwerp to purchase 10,000 crowns' worth of jewels for presents to certain important persons. Antwerp was the great shopping-place of the world. Bell- and cannon-founding are referred to as thriving industries all through Mary's Regency, and in this work Cornelius Wagevens found his métier, recasting the Thief-Bell in 1542, and in the next year making seven great cannon for the town known under the names of the seven planets, varying from 5,000 to 3,100 livres in weight. Also Remy de Hallut worked in the town; he had married the widow of Jan Poppenruyter, the famous gun-founder of Mechlin. Jacques Jongelinckx, also an Antwerper, is chiefly known for his monument to Mary of Burgundy at Bruges. He also made a statue of Alva to stand in the Castle erected after the outbreak of 1566. Workmen came to England from Antwerp to work on a tomb which was being prepared for Wolsey. The silk, satin, damask, and fustian industries were introduced at this time, but an interesting letter shows that

[1] Pirenne, III, 233, etc.

[2] There is a portrait of John of Antwerp at Windsor painted by Holbein: see Woltman.

Stephen Vaughan had been trying in vain to buy good white damask in Antwerp for Sir William Paget. He says that the Brussels Court is nothing so gallant of women as the English, for no dames in it wore "whites"—"they be but counterfeits to our dames, so that whites, yellows, reds, blues and such fresh colours go from thence straight to England."

Often the Magistrates subsidized the introducer of a new industry if they thought it would benefit the town; for instance, glass-blowing introduced in 1537. In 1541 we find an Italian making glass and steel mirrors and the town giving him a site in Hopland (the Hopfield) for his furnace. A little later came the making of glass in the Venetian manner. Pottery, clocks, watches, tapestry, and stamped leather were all industries introduced into Antwerp about this time. To these must be added the little bricks embossed with scenes from Scripture for the decoration of fireplaces.[1]

The industry most forcibly brought under our notice is that of brewing. It received a great spur onwards whenever the Sound was closed and German beers ceased to be imported. A good deal of wine was made in the Netherlands, but very little was exported. In Antwerp the inhabitants were free from duty on wine made by themselves for their own consumption. Antwerp was also the great market for furs—the beautiful Russian sables. Anything could be found in Antwerp which passed in the way of trade, even lions and other wild animals. We have already noted the various improvements made by the Magistrates, the New Bourse, the Tapestry Pand, the Crane, the new canals and wharfs, and the moving of the Hansa Factory.

Charles's edicts on bankruptcy were very severe. In 1531 it was ordered that a fugitive bankrupt (and there were many) should be summoned by crier to appear within forty days on pain of banishment. He was to be deprived of all rights of asylum and condemned to punishment as a thief, his goods being sequestered and given to his creditors. Even his wife was made liable for his debts incurred during marriage. In 1540 the punishment was made more rigorous.[2]

A splendid system of posts existed throughout the Empire under the direction of the Taxis family, and a branch of the service under Anthony de Taxis supplied the Netherlands, having headquarters in the Long Street of the Hospital at Antwerp, but many merchants in the town hired their own post-horses when sending letters. The regular post from England arrived on Monday and returned on Sunday night. A private or special post to England cost £4 or £5 at least. A man who had been buying powder at Antwerp for Henry VIII sent in the following charges:

[1] Génard, II. [2] Henne, V.

	£	s.	d.
Horse-hire Gravesend to Dover and back six times . .	1	4	0
Barge-hire London to Gravesend six times	0	2	0
Passage Dover to Calais six times	1	10	0
Horse-hire Calais to Antwerp ten times[1]	10	0	0

To hire a ship to go to Harwich from Antwerp cost £20 or £30 at least in 1554.[2]

[1] Gairdner, XIX, Part II, No. 526.

[2] Turnbull, Mary, No. 146.

CHAPTER XV

ANTWERP, THE "BOURSE-TOWN," UNDER MARY OF HUNGARY—FINANCIERS AND FINANCE

BY 1540 Fair-time, as such, had lost much of its importance to sellers and buyers of goods, for merchandise had come to be sold almost all the year round. The English cloth-fleet, however, came only at Fair-time, but the merchants sold their cloth when they could, though they expected to dispose of most of it during the Fair. The importance of Fair-time lay now in the fact that it was the date usually fixed for repayment of money which had been taken up.

In early days the Italians, into whose hands the money business had fallen, had established recognized meeting places in the towns where fairs were held, in which to transact the money business incidental to all buying and selling of merchandise. The presence of the Italians, and of other merchants when they obtained part of the money business, and their actual possession of money, all too scarce except at fair-time in a mart-town, enticed to the fairs all who wanted to borrow money or to pawn jewels and plate. The man who traded in merchandise found himself busy all the year round during Mary's Regency, but the lender of money still did most of his business at fair-time.

Antwerp had really become more remarkable as a Bourse-Town than as a Mart-Town, but people still flocked in greater numbers to the town when fairs were in progress than at other times—both merchants and private individuals who came to buy. As we have seen, the earliest efforts of the merchants had been in the direction of trade, but the risk from robbers and perils of the sea, as well as the length of time required to build up a fortune, led one firm after another to desert commerce, in whole or in part, for the more tempting enterprises offered by the lending of money. The improvement in the art of war made it necessary for a King contemplating an attack on a rival, not only to count the cost before he set out, but also to negotiate a loan in Antwerp or in some other town. Charles, Ferdinand, Francis I, Henry II, Henry VIII, and the Netherland Government took up loans at Antwerp for war purposes, and the town of Antwerp borrowed the wherewithal to pay for the building of the new

fortifications. The Fuggers, Welsers, and others almost ceased to be regarded or spoken of as merchants and came to be "money-men" or "financiers" who put money "upon finance and interest" or "at finance." Antwerp's importance as a commercial town made it the place at which to seek money before Charles had attained his majority, but the town did not approach a position of world-wide importance as a money-market until the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century [1] and it was only in the last fifteen years of Charles's reign that it reached its greatest eminence. Antwerp had a larger money-business than that of Lyons, and little buying or selling of merchandise was done in the French town, but these two towns—one Imperialist and the other French—took the place of Augsburg, Venice, and Florence.

This extraordinary activity in Antwerp endured only for a very short time, coming forth in full glory soon after van Rossem's raid, and receiving a death-blow from the Spanish State Bankruptcy of 1557. But during the summer of its prosperity the financial transactions done yearly on the Bourse have been estimated at 40,000,000 ducats.[2] In 1546 the capital of the firm of Fugger, not including the wealth of the individual members of it, was 4,700,000 gulden, which had a buying power of quite 160,000,000 marks of to-day. Nothing like it had been known before.[3] The precious metals which the mines of the New World were giving forth were brought to Antwerp and flowed thence over the world.[4] Eventually too much speculation found its way into Antwerp commercial enterprises and the fame of the merchants was imperilled by transactions of a doubtful nature entered into by such men as Gaspar Ducci, who aimed at making profit by skilful manipulation of the Bourse to the detriment of other speculators. The frequent and sudden changes in the ratio of gold to silver in a bimetallic currency gave such a firm as his, having branches in several towns, plenty of opportunity to gain by arbitration of exchanges. In view of the speculations indulged in at Antwerp Charles passed strong measures affecting bankruptcy. Amazing as it may seem, some of the shrewdest merchants in the town allowed their judgment as to what the future might contain and what certain merchandise would bring on a given day, to be influenced by "prognostications" drawn by astrologers from the stars. By the time of the reign of Charles V the old feeling that to lend money at interest was contrary to the Christian doctrine, excepting under certain special circumstances, was obsolete, and to curb demands for excessive and extortionate interest was looked on as the greatest length to which a government should go in the way of regulating

[1] "Das Zeitalter der Fugger," II, 45.
[2] *Ibid.* II, 109. [3] *Ibid.* I, 386.
[4] Shaw, "History of Currency," p. 61, etc.

this class of business. Nothing, however, palliated the usurious or un-Christian demand, but none knew what could be rightly called usurious. In the days of Charles the Bold as much as 40 per cent. might have to be paid for a loan. In 1540 an Edict styled interest above 12 per cent. as usurious, and therefore not in accordance with the Christian faith. Loans at higher interest were forbidden, and so were loans made for more than a year or made by others than merchants.

All such legislation was, however, doomed to failure in such a town as Antwerp, and Charles himself usually paid more than 12 per cent. The taking up of money in Antwerp was done in two different ways—by exchange or by deposit.[1] A man was said at first to take up money by exchange when he became entitled to receive it at a certain place by reason of his having paid a sum of money elsewhere. He paid so many crowns, ducats or angels, to Fugger or Welser, at Antwerp, who accepted a bill of exchange entitling him to so much to be paid by an agent of the firm at Lyons, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Venice, etc. On the face of it, to be able to arrange for payment to be made in a distant place without the necessity of transporting treasure was a great boon to merchants, but Guicciardini tells us that great abuses crept into the dealings, especially among the richer merchants. The advantage planned for the benefit of traders possessed of cash which they wished to send across Europe showed would-be borrowers a way to fill their pockets in emergencies. Such men went to the "money-men" with the guarantee or acceptance of a Netherland Rentmaster or of the City of London, etc., and came away with so much money. Sometimes the guarantor or acceptor would have assets or would expect to have assets belonging to the borrower in his possession, sometimes he would not. It was thus that most of the great loans were floated at Antwerp. A deposit was a loan taken up for a fixed period—until the next mart or until a specified mart. The profit from the deposit would be so much per cent. as fixed at the time the loan was made. It was a loan pure and simple. However the loan was made, when the time for repayment arrived the borrower might repay or he might prolong at the same or at a different rate of interest. Sometimes when money was scarce the Government decreed that payments should be delayed. The taking up of money in this way was by no means confined to Fair-time, but repayment was invariably arranged for such times. Indeed it was only at Fair-time that enough money could be got together to make payment.

The earliest Bourse at Antwerp was one at which men met for the sale of merchandise and not for the sole purpose of arranging for payments, as had been the custom with the Italians at Bruges. The merchants who met in the Bourse built in 1531–2

[1] Guicciardini.

were pre-occupied with matters of finance rather than the sale of merchandise. The Netherland Rentmasters are frequently mentioned in connexion with the Antwerp money-business. It was their duty to collect the Aid when voted by the States and hand the balance over to the Sovereign after debts had been paid. When sums owed by Charles and the Brussels Court in Antwerp grew to such a size that the revenue did little more than keep down the interest thereon, it became the custom to require the Rentmasters' obligation to the bond for repayment.

The great increase in the borrowing of money by princes which began about the time of the Treaty of Cambrai is to be attributed in the main to the growing cost of war. With the improvement of artillery the cost of equipping an army became greater than ever before, and Charles, with interests extending from one corner of Europe to the other, was called upon to undertake expeditions of a greater magnitude, so far as expense was concerned, than any of his Imperial predecessors had been. The Kings of France and England had to find money to place themselves in a position to hold their own against the Emperor. We have seen how his ability to borrow money in Antwerp enabled Charles to win the Empire and to carry on the wars against France which resulted in the glorious victory at Pavia and the Treaty of Cambrai. All his enterprises needed great sums of money, and the great financiers alone could provide them at the moment they were most needed. At about the time of the Treaty of Cambrai (1529) or a little before it, Charles was beginning to obtain large sums from the Genoese merchants, but the Fuggers always remained his best friends. Most of the loans, whether made by Fuggers, Welsers, or Herwarts, were in the nature of advances on Aids voted by the States of some part of his dominions —the Cortes of Spain as well as the States of the Netherland Provinces—or on the revenues of the private domains, or on the gold and silver expected from the New World. These transactions were arranged mostly at Augsburg or Antwerp. In 1533 the following sums were owing in Antwerp to the firm of Fugger : [1]

	£ Flemish.
The towns of Antwerp and Mechlin, having gone security for Ferdinand	9,333
The King of Portugal	12,469
Mary of Hungary, as Regent	2,654

and in the year 1536 :

Mary of Hungary	5,000
The King of Portugal	2,400

Loan followed loan. When a fresh war broke out with France in 1536 Charles raised a new loan of 100,000 ducats from Fugger to be repaid with 14 per cent. interest out of the first gold and

[1] "Das Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 134.

silver which came from the Indies; and throughout the war he borrowed further sums. His borrowings did not even cease with the war, and the new loans raised in 1538 and 1539 made people wonder whether the money was really to be used against Barbary corsairs, the Turks, or the German Protestants. In 1539 the outstanding debts due to the Fuggers in Antwerp amounted to 202,000 florins, the King of Portugal alone owing the firm £22,100 Flemish and Mary of Hungary owing £7,000.

The year of van Rossem's raid was one of great crisis for Charles, surrounded as he was by enemies, but again the ease with which he could borrow money in Antwerp proved his salvation. The most interesting period of Charles's transactions with the financiers is that which concerns the War of Smalcald of 1546, for then Catholics and Protestants sometimes allowed their personal feelings to influence the tightness of their purse-strings, and it was never quite certain from which quarter Charles might safely expect financial support. Negotiations for loans were opened at Antwerp and Genoa before the war began. It was difficult to raise money in the former town for fear as to its ultimate destination, for the Protestant feeling was very strong. During the war the German merchants in Antwerp were made neutral by the Regent and were granted letters of protection, but there was consternation in the town over the war, and as usual under such circumstances rumours of all sorts were current. The Germans prophesied the lance-knights would not serve against Protestants. The Emperor took up every penny he could get. "The Emperor hath gotten into his hands all the Fuggers' money and the Welsers' money," says a letter-writer. The war stopped the sale of English cloth for export to Germany and as a result the English merchants received no money to lend to needy kings. It seemed as if the Bourses at Antwerp, doubtful of the Emperor's success, shrank from lending him more money. The merchants who were usually ready enough to lend to him sent their money to Lyons and Venice when they heard of the strength of his enemies in Germany.[1] Not even Fugger and Welser could supply all his needs. It was Vaughan's duty at this time to repay money to the Fuggers on behalf of the English Crown, and part of the sum should have been provided by the English merchants by way of exchange, but since they had not sold their cloth they were unable to fulfil their engagements. The reluctance exhibited by some merchants to lend to Charles was due to the fear that any ill fate which he might encounter in the war would result in a general combination against him of the English, the French, the Turks, the Germans, the Danes, the Neapolitans, the Moors and all the rest of the world. The Regent was greatly troubled at this time because "valued gold" was smuggled out of Antwerp in great quantities

[1] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1335.

and in its place were left a store of English coins of inferior quality.[1] Merchants like Christopher Haller offered to lend money to Henry for fear that Charles might make a forced loan of it [2] if kept in Antwerp.

So difficult did the raising of money prove in Antwerp, Genoa and everywhere else that in the summer of 1546 Charles was in great difficulty. Again the Fuggers came to his rescue, although their native town of Augsburg was mainly Protestant, and he received additional assistance from several Catholic German firms—such as Paumgartner, Neidhart, Meuting, Bartholomew Welser, and Hans Herwart. The Protestants complained bitterly saying that but for such help Charles could not have carried on the war. In 1546 a balance-sheet of the Fuggers shows the following sums due to them in Antwerp : [3]

	£ Flemish.
The town of Antwerp	21,746
Gaspar Dozzi (Ducci) as Rentmaster	44,517
The King of England	83,900
Mary of Hungary, as Regent	30,739
The King of Portugal	6,252

In 1545 the Fuggers were lending to the English King under security of the City of London, making him take part of the loan in copper. This taking of merchandise and reselling it to get the money which he needed was a device frequently thrust upon Henry. In 1546 Vaughan could hardly get money for Henry in Antwerp without taking part of it in jewels or fustians as well as in copper. In 1549 the Lord Protector of England and the Council wanted to repay money lent by Lazarus Tucher in bell-metal and lead or other commodities, but he refused to accept anything but cash.[4] Loans continued to be made by Fugger to the English Crown until 1552, and in that year Sir Thomas Gresham went to Antwerp to borrow money to pay their claims. In August of 1552 the Regent borrowed money through Mathias Oertel, the Fuggers' factor, to repel the French invasion, and in 1553 Charles's needs absorbed all the money on the Antwerp Bourse. The loans incurred during these last years of Charles's reign caused all the income of Spain to be anticipated in favour of the Fuggers up to 1557, and annuities were granted to them charged on the revenues of Brabant and Flanders. At this time the Fuggers' great anxiety was to get gold and silver out of Spain to meet their obligations in Antwerp.

The importance of Antwerp to the Fuggers grew with the century. In the beginning of it they had found it a useful place for the sale of spices and copper, but soon they began to do business by way of exchange, and they found it was becoming the money-market of the world. It was only in the 'forties that

[1] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1448.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 1509.
[3] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 147.
[4] Turnbull, Ed. VI, pp. 36–7.

the firm began to do a large money business, and it was about 1540–1545 that the demands became great by the Brussels Court, the town of Antwerp, and the English Crown.[1] But a new period opened in 1552. Then their factor, Mathias Oertel, arranged large loans with the Brussels Court and large transactions of this sort followed one upon another. Charles's efforts to raise money were on several occasions impeded by the coming of other sovereigns into the field for the same purpose. On one occasion (in 1544) the Regent complained of Henry's doing this, and after expressing surprise that a King understood to be so rich should have need of borrowing money at all, pointed out that Charles's position compelled him to borrow and that he ought therefore to be left without rival to take up what money he could find at Antwerp and Augsburg. She said that the Emperor found it difficult and risky to bring money all the way from Spain, while Henry could easily bring from England all he needed for payments to be made at Antwerp, and since taxes granted to the Emperor by the States did not come in promptly, she was obliged to raise money on them in Antwerp.[2] The difficulty of transmitting specie by sea or road was one of the chief causes of the high rate of interest at this period. Charles always paid the interest on money borrowed if not the capital, but at a later time the revenues of the Netherlands, like those of Spain, were pledged in advance, and under Philip the Treasury became bankrupt. The Fuggers were by far the richest and most famous merchants of the period, and during the years 1525–1560 Anthony Fugger was the chief and the life of the firm. Not only Anthony but also his brothers Raymond and Jerome were ennobled by Charles. Guicciardini says that Anthony left more than 6,000,000 golden crowns in ready money, which would amount to about 120,000,000 francs of to-day, as well as real property, jewels, and goods in Europe and in both Indies. Their beautiful house in the Stonecutters' Rampart was built, as we have said, in 1515.

Another Augsburg firm was that of Meuting, who had the distinction of consistently supporting Charles throughout the War of Smalcald, but against this must be placed loans made by some members of the firm to Henry II, enabling him to invade the Provinces. Hans Paumgartner of Nuremberg and Augsburg was also on the Catholic side in the War of Smalcald. There was no branch of this rich merchant's firm at Antwerp, but he frequently did business through Wolff Haller.

Next to the Fuggers the chief German firm who did business in Antwerp was that of Welser. Their house was named the *Golden Rose* and stood on the site now occupied by the Post Office in the modern Place Verte. In 1517 a branch of the firm was split off and established at Nuremberg and came to

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I.
[2] "Calendar of State Papers, England and Spain," VII, No. 116.

possess a house in the present Street of the Recollets or Franciscans at Antwerp. In 1551 the Nuremberg Welser lent 100,000 florins on a Rentmasters' letter and sustained great loss thereby. The Augsburg firm was Catholic and the Nuremberg Protestant, but the latter did not give assistance to the Protestants in the war. Charles ennobled the Augsburg Welsers, but they were not so consistently his friends and helpers as were the Fuggers. The Augsburg Welsers lent money to the French Crown in 1542, and at the outbreak of the War of Smalcald the firm refused to provide Charles with money in Germany and they did their best to remain neutral and seem not to have assisted either side.[1] No doubt this was due to their feeling that ill-success awaited Charles and that they would become the losers. The firm shared in a loan contracted by the Brussels Court on the Antwerp Bourse in 1549 and in one taken up by Charles in 1551 in Augsburg. Until the financial crisis of 1557, which ruined the Antwerp financiers, the Welsers' banking business continued to grow in Antwerp, in Spain, and in Lyons, and at that time they were owed some 180,000 florins by the French, Spanish, and Netherland Governments. By no means all of the firm's important financial transactions were carried through in Antwerp, but the partner, Jacob Welser, and the factor, Conrad Bayr, both resided in Antwerp and were responsible for most of the large undertakings of the firm.

The credit and fame of the Hochstetters had not been maintained during the Regency of Mary of Hungary. The Netherland Government borrowed from the firm of Herwart. Hans Herwart helped Charles in the War of Smalcald, but George Herwart was on the side of the League.[2]

Hieronymus Seiler was the son-in-law of Bartholomew Welser and did a large business with the best-known Antwerp merchants, and particularly notable was a sort of partnership in which he was from 1536 to 1546 with Alexius Grimel and the notorious Gaspar Ducci. They often lent to the Netherland Government, and having a branch at Lyons they never hesitated to lend also to Francis if profit was to be made out of it, in spite of express orders given by Charles to the contrary. These men cared nothing for Catholic or Protestant, Imperialist or Frenchman, and lent for the profit to be made and not to further a cause which they admired. After the War of Smalcald a partnership was formed between Seiler, Sebastian Neidhart (Christopher Herwart's son-in-law), Alexius Grimel, Simon Pecori, and Gaspar Ducci, and they did a splendid business, trading on the difference in exchange between Antwerp and Lyons. So much help did this firm give to the French Crown that the Regent had Seiler, Grimel, and Ducci arrested at Antwerp on the charge of improperly manipulating the Antwerp Bourse to their advantage and seeking

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 202. [2] *Ibid.* I, 219.

to gain control of the whole money business. The Prosecutor-General proposed that Seiler's and Grimel's goods should be confiscated and they themselves banished from the Emperor's dominions, and that Ducci should be put to death. The trial was concluded in 1551. Grimel and Seiler were condemned to pay a fine of 60,000 Carolus gulden and Ducci a fine of 20,000 gulden and costs. We hear no more of the firm after that.[1]

The Italian merchants as a rule formed a group entirely distinct in business from the Germans but Ducci was mixed up in all that went on if profit was to be made out of it. He was from Pistoia and started as agent of the Lucca firm of Arnolfini. He soon prospered in business and was considered to be the chief of those who were guilty on the Bourse of carrying out a sort of unscrupulous transaction which ruined many.[2] In 1540 he contrived to create an artificial scarcity of gold and ruined the Portuguese factor, or at all events greatly injured him. As a result the Magistrates suspended him for three years. However, he was soon back at the Bourse, and he was such a power there that however unsavoury his reputation neither the Emperor, the Brussels Court, the French, nor the English Crowns could afford to let him be their enemy for long. He could at times procure a loan at low interest when no one else could find a ducat in Antwerp. He would too, on occasion, take a considerable part in the loans without interest which the merchants sometimes lent to the Emperor, and in one way and another succeeded in getting Lazarus Tucher's place as chief Financial Agent to the Netherland Government. Most of the loans taken up in Antwerp by the Government between 1542 and 1549 were negotiated by him.

For the great services he rendered Charles made him an Imperial Councillor. He owned a beautiful house at Hoboken and married into a distinguished Netherland family. Many looked on him as a knave and a bully and he was probably the most hated man in Antwerp. We find that he was set upon on the Bourse. Assaults at this place and in the neighbouring streets were very common, and several decrees were issued by Charles and the Magistrates with a view to keeping order there. Punishment was imposed on those who drew knives in anger and on those who insulted merchants and others resorting thither on business. If the offender was masked or disguised the offence was considered the more serious.[3] During his prosperity Ducci kept a band of ruffians who attacked his enemies at his command. We have already referred to his quarrel with van Schoonbeke. He was the life of the business in arbitration of exchange carried on at Lyons. After the assault made on him in 1554 his sun seems to have set. In 1560 he sold his house at Hoboken to

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 221, etc.
[2] *Ibid.* I, 312. [3] Papebrochius, II, 188.

Melchior Schetz. He has been made the hero of a version of the story told of Fugger and other rich merchants of Charles's time. He is said to have been entertaining the Regent in a house he had in Tanners' Street and to have burnt before her eyes an obligation of hers or of the Emperor's to repay him a great sum of money.

When Henry VIII was hoping to borrow from him in 1544 Vaughan wrote that he was worth 30,000 or 40,000 ducats and suggested that if the King would write him two or three words he would "work with a galloping pace" and he might forgo his usual brokerage charge of ½ per cent.[1] Vaughan knew Ducci very well and described him as "a man of that fineness that nothing can escape him," and added that all men at Antwerp cried out upon him and would "eat him" if he was not in the Emperor's favour.[2] Vaughan thought that he was not above "colouring" the cargoes of French ships seized by Henry—that is to say, pretending that a belligerent's goods belonged to him, a neutral. In another letter written from Antwerp in the same month (December 1544) Vaughan says of him he "ruleth all the rout of merchants" at Antwerp, and yet is "easily beloved amongst them." Vaughan had a warm corner in his heart for the man in spite of his bad qualities, and respected him as a fine master of finance who had twice retrieved his broken fortunes.[3] Vaughan knew, too, that there was a side of his nature unknown to his enemies on the Bourse, and speaks of the dangerous illness of his son, to whom he was devotedly attached.[4] His business methods seem to have been sufficiently evil, but most of his enemies were probably made by his being unable to conceal his annoyance when displeased.

In 1545 Vaughan was taking up money for Henry VIII in Antwerp and went to Christopher Haller, the Fuggers' factor, for the purpose, instead of to Ducci as on previous occasions, with the result that the latter spoke to Vaughan about it in Our Lady's Church in "a cold fume." He said the Emperor had given him charge of financial matters at Antwerp, and that it was not right that another Prince should carry away large sums of money from the Bourse without leave. Whatever had caused his loss of temper with Vaughan, he was only expressing what was felt by the Government as regards the export of specie. Often Ducci was of great service to Vaughan and his master, but sometimes the former felt he was an "exceeding troublous fellow" and "a wicked fellow." Ducci's claim against Henry for having seized cargoes of herrings which he alleged belonged to him has been spoken of in the last chapter. The Antwerp merchants who were loyal to Charles regarded all Italian merchants as "good French" and willing to lend money to the French King, whether

[1] Gairdner, XIX, Part I, No. 630.
[2] *Ibid.* Part II, No. 723.
[3] *Ibid.* Part II, No. 755.
[4] *Ibid.* Part II, No. 137.

it was to be used in war against England or the Emperor. Ducci was of great service to the Emperor in taking up money for him in Antwerp for the War of Smalcald.

In 1543 we find Mathias Manlich, Paumgartner, and Haug lending both Ferdinand and the Netherland Government money in Antwerp, the latter bringing forward the Rentmaster's letter as security; but the Augsburg firm of Manlich does not seem to have done very much business in Antwerp. The 1543 balance sheet of the Haug firm of Augsburg shows among their debtors at Antwerp the Netherland Government, the Rentmasters of Brabant and Holland, the town of Antwerp, and the King of Portugal. Among their debtors in 1549 were the Regent, King Edward VI, and various Netherland Rentmasters.[1] In 1551 the town of Antwerp owed this firm 25,000 florins.

Of the several other German firms, that of Tucher of Nuremberg was much the most important. They had a branch at Lyons as well as at Nuremberg and lent heavily to the French King, but most of their business was still in commerce. Lazarus Tucher worked independently of the firm. He did not do any great finance business before 1528, but in the following year he became agent of the Brussels Court for the raising of loans on the Antwerp Bourse and was the foremost man in this class of business until Ducci completely overshadowed him in 1541, but he continued to do business for the Court until 1552.[2] He also acted for the King of Portugal, the town of Antwerp, and the English Crown. Other German firms were Imhof of Nuremberg; Lixalls and Fleckhamer, both of Munich; Prechter and Ingold, both of Strasburg; Wolff Poschinger, Kattehofer and certain Germans of noble family, such as Rantzau, Brockdorff, and Ahlefeld. Rantzau lent to Charles, the English Crown, the King of Denmark, and the towns of Antwerp, Ghent, Lübeck, and Hamburg.

As for the Italian firms, the Frescobaldi and Gualterotti were already insolvent when Mary of Hungary became Regent. Some Florentine houses established themselves in Antwerp after Philip's accession, but they did not do a great deal and were overshadowed by the growing power of the Genoese. The Florentines' share in this class of enterprise was seriously affected by the discovery by the English Crown that it could take up money on its own account on the Antwerp Bourse to greater advantage than when, as in times past, it borrowed from them on their terms. Most Florentines who had money to lend now preferred to frequent Lyons and lend it to the French King. Ducci was the only Italian who reached a first-rate position in Antwerp financial circles at this time, and his being of a race known to favour France may have contributed to the hatred

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 229, etc.
[2] *Ibid.* I, 251.

in which many German and English merchants held him. The Bonvisi of Lucca did money business with the English Crown, but not with the Emperor or the Brussels Court, and although in a smaller way of business than the Germans they eventually fared better than the majority of those who lent money in Antwerp, but in later days their business at Lyons brought them into difficulties. The Arnolfini of Lucca did very little at Antwerp. The Affaitadi of Cremona did more in trade than in finance, but they were creditors of the town of Antwerp, of the English Crown, and of King Philip. Charles could seek the assistance of the Genoese merchants in their own town during most of his reign, and they did not figure prominently on the Antwerp Bourse before 1555, but some of them—chiefly Alberto Pinelli—took the leading part in preparing a fleet in 1552 to bring a great quantity of silver out of Spain. This enterprise was undertaken in consequence of the great scarcity of money which prevailed to the great injury of trade, and the cost of it was paid by the town and the merchants.[1] At this time the participation of the Genoese in all matters of finance was becoming greater in Antwerp and it continued to increase in the reign of Philip. Pinelli was a great man in Antwerp from 1555 to 1559.

Francisco de Vaille was the chief Spanish merchant in Antwerp in the time of Mary of Hungary, but neither he nor his fellow-countryman Juan Lopez Gallo did much finance, preferring trade. Very few Netherland-born merchants became famous on the Antwerp Bourse. The foremost were Peter van der Straeten, Gerard Stercke, and the Schetz family. Van der Straeten was the first Antwerp Finance Agent of the Netherland Government who is mentioned; he died in 1534. Gerard Stercke was agent for the Emperor and for the Brussels Court and later was Rentmaster of Brabant, his place as Finance Agent being taken by Lazarus Tucher. Although the family of Schetz was of German origin its members came to be always considered as Netherlanders, and under the guidance of Erasmus the firm rose to a rank of importance in business circles, but it never equalled the Fugger or the Welser. Erasmus often lent Charles small sums—never more than 21,000 livres of 40 gros.[2] However, when in 1542 the Antwerp merchants made a loan to Charles without interest Schetz's share of 8,000 livres of 40 gros made him the second largest contributor to it. After the death of Erasmus in 1550 the business was carried on by his three sons Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar (named after the three Magi), and commerce was to a great extent relinquished for finance, Gaspar becoming the Emperor's Finance Agent. The House of Aachen still belonged to the family and Gaspar became Lord of Grobendonck. He was a scholar, wrote Latin verse and collected coins.

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 345.

[2] *Ibid.* I, 368.

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Melchior in 1560 bought from Ducci his house at Hoboken. He remained a good Catholic but favoured the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip. The firm lent money to Charles on several occasions, but their transactions with the English Crown are of more interest. In 1549 Vaughan's successor, William Dansell, was taking up money at Antwerp for the English Crown to repay money already owing. His difficulty in doing business with Lazarus Tucher lay in the fact that the Protector (Edward was then on the throne) and the Council were anxious to repay it in bell-metal and lead, while Tucher refused to be repaid in anything excepting cash. Dansell's instructions were to pay the debts of the English Crown if possible with English commodities, and if that was not feasible to prolong the payments, and failing even that to borrow the money at the lowest possible interest. Tucher was not willing to prolong and Dansell had to borrow the money from Schetz. During Dansell's term of office English credit was not good in Antwerp, as the rumours of the disturbed state of England promised a menace to the King's occupancy of the throne. At the same time the French King's credit was much better than usual by reason of his prompt payment of interest due. Dansell had to pay 13 per cent. on loans.

In 1552 Sir Thomas Gresham was sent to take Dansell's place, and Tucher then offered to lend money to the English Crown at 12 per cent., at a moment when the Emperor was paying 16 per cent.[1] Gresham took up money from Wolf Rehlinger, Gaspar Schetz, Anthony Fugger, Conrad Rehlinger, John Rantzau and others, but part of the advance had to be taken in merchandise—jewels, fustians, copper, and gunpowder.[2] Gresham took his wife and family with him and resided in the house of Gaspar Schetz, who was an old friend of his, and with whom he had lodged before. It was about this time that Schetz became Finance Agent to the Emperor in succession to Ducci, and soon Gresham could say of him he "rewlyth the holl finance and the burse of Antwerp." Gresham had to pay 14 per cent. for loans in 1552. This remarkable man was one of the few merchants of his day who had been educated at the University of Cambridge, or earned the honour of Knighthood. He was an East Anglian and the son of a merchant well known in both England and the Netherlands. Unfortunately Queen Mary removed him on her accession to the English throne in the following year, and sent the incompetent Christopher Dawntesey instead. Dawntesey borrowed from Lazarus Tucher at 13 or 14 per cent. when money was obtainable on the Bourse without much difficulty at 10 per cent.; but it must be remembered that the discontent

[1] Turnbull, Edward VI, various letters.

[2] "Life and Administration of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh," ed. Nares, I, 405.

in England at the sight of a Catholic on the throne had done much to depress Mary's credit in Antwerp.

In November 1553 Gresham was sent again to Antwerp to borrow at 11 or 12 per cent., and the letters which he wrote to England during the next two years are among the most interesting memorials of the doings of merchants in Antwerp during the reign of Charles V.[1] He arrived on the 17th of November, 1553, at 8 p.m., and next day saw Lazarus Tucher with a view to persuading him to relinquish the bargain (or part of it) which had been made with Dawntesey for a loan at 13 per cent. Tucher, however, stood to his bargain in spite of Gresham's assertion that Dawntesey's authority had not extended to contracting to pay interest at such a high rate. The money was advanced on the Queen's obligation and the bond of the City of London. Before the administration of the affairs of the English Crown had been taken from Gresham, merchants had been anxious to lend to it and money could be found at 10 per cent. But since Dawntesey's clumsy handling of affairs merchants were not ashamed or afraid to ask 15 per cent. They said to Gresham, "Think you that we do not know that the Queen's Majesty gave Lazarus Tucher 13 per cent. for eleven months, which is now above 15 per cent.; and is not our money as good as his?"[2] Those who had money to lend conspired to keep up the rate of interest against the English Crown. When Gresham showed Dawntesey a letter he had brought from the Queen he "departed suddenly upon the sight thereof."

Money, especially gold, was very scarce in Antwerp. Just before Christmas (1553) Gresham was able to get a loan from Gaspar Schetz and his brother at 13 per cent. and another from Andrew Lixalls and Thomas Fleckhamer & Co. on the same terms. Among the lenders to Queen Mary at this time were Fugger, Lazarus Tucher, and Deodati of Lucca. The news that the insurgents under Wyatt had reached Blackheath upset the credit of the Queen and of the City of London and of all the English nation at Antwerp, and no one would lend them anything. But the English merchants were soon rejoicing—or seeming to rejoice—at Wyatt's overthrow, and were giving wine to the people, lighting bonfires in the streets, firing salvoes of artillery, and distributing money to the poor.

Gresham was in Antwerp during most of Mary's reign doing business for her. In 1555 she owed £148,526 5*s.* 8*d.* in Antwerp. Dansell and Gresham had been engaged in smuggling munitions of war through to England when no passport could be obtained, and specie, too, when they could. It was contrary to the laws of the Netherlands to export either gold or silver. Sometimes

[1] Turnbull, Mary, various letters, etc., and Burgon, "Life of Sir Thomas Gresham."

[2] Turnbull, Mary, No. 104.

when an English agent had borrowed money at great trouble and cost it was found difficult or even impossible to convey it to England even by exchange. Gresham packed specie as harness, sending as much as 100,000 marks weight away in this manner in one year without its being discovered, and in January 1554 he expressed himself confident that he could convey to England most of the gold in Antwerp by the end of the year. He built a furnace to melt down all the Spanish reals he could procure, for they were of better silver than English money, and when melted down were easier to transport, but Mary was then on the point of marrying Philip, and the English Council wrote to him that he must only melt down Spanish reals if to do so was in accordance with law—which it was not. In February 1554 leave was given him by the Brussels Court to export 10,000 marks weight of bullion, and he sent it through Gravelines, facilitating its progress by a "New Year's present" of twelve ells of fine black velvet to the Captain of that town and eight ells of black cloth to each customer and searcher. Sir John Mason, the English Ambassador, brought it to England.

Gresham was the founder of the scheme for raising the rate of exchange in England with the object of bringing gold and silver into that country and of discouraging its exportation. He was conscious that the careful consideration of the fluctuation of the rate of exchange was one of the chief points calling for the attention of the English Government. Before he took the matter in hand it was the custom, when the English Crown had to pay money in Antwerp, to transport English coin thither from England or else to pay it by way of exchange. The result of this was that the rate of exchange between England and the Netherlands fell as against the former. Now money was raised on the spot. At about the time of the accession of Edward VI it stood only at 16 shillings Flemish in Antwerp, although in 1528 it had been 25 and in 1544 it had been 26 and 26½ or 27½ shillings Flemish to the pound.[1] In August 1553 Gresham boasted that by careful management he had discharged all the Crown debts at 20 or 22 shillings to the pound. That is to say, he had raised the exchange, during the time he had been employed, from 16 shillings Flemish to 22 shillings Flemish, with the result that there was a flow of coins into England. His efforts in this direction extended into the reign of Philip, and their development is part of the history of the reign of Elizabeth.[2] He watched what went on at every meeting of the Bourse and what persons took up money.

In 1542 Charles regulated the silver coinage, ordering the silver Carolus equal to 20 stivers. This was the coin called the Carolus gulden or florin.

[1] Brewer and Gairdner, IV, Part II, No. 4613, and XIX, Part I, No. 149.
[2] Burgon, I, pp. 115, 261, 335.

To keep base English coins out of Antwerp was a difficulty with which the authorities of the Mint were always contending, for it made all good gold and silver coins flow to England. For instance in 1546 Antwerp was full of English gold nobles brought there in exchange for "valued gold," as it was called, or gold current at its face value, and it was expected that the Regent would forbid or call down the value of English coins. As it was, no one would take more such coins from the English.[1] Over and over again the Netherland Government proclaimed the value in which foreign coins were to be held. We can appreciate the number of different kinds of strange coins to be found in the town from the fact that Vaughan expected the money which he took up to be paid to him in more than one hundred different coins, which greatly delayed its being brought into the King's service as each gold coin had to be weighed.[2] It was a custom among the merchants at Antwerp that all money taken up by exchange or finance should be repaid two parts in gold and one part in silver.

The commerce of the Netherlands enabled this portion of Charles's hereditary dominions to grant him subsidies without which his wars against France would have been impossible.

The mines of the New World did not produce much before 1546 compared with the yield of Netherland commerce and industry. Castile was rich, but the Empire and the Habsburg possessions gave little. The Aids granted by the Provinces grew even larger during Charles's reign, and from being about a million livres a year at the beginning of it rose to nearly seven millions by his abdication,[3] but by that time the interest on the vast sums which he had borrowed from the finance-men ate up almost all the year's taxes.

At the same time the revenue from the domains was heavily charged. The products of the Aids and of the domains constituted the ordinary revenue of the Sovereign of the Netherlands. No province could be taxed without its consent, and each province levied its contribution as it chose.

By the time of Charles's abdication bad management or some other defect had gone far to despoil him and Philip of their wealth, as was seen in the State Bankruptcy of 1557. A certain Erasso had a good deal to do with this; in fact, this man did as much harm to the credit of the Spanish Crown in Antwerp as Gresham did good to that of England.[4] Money for the ordinary working of Philip's household had to be borrowed in Antwerp in addition to larger sums required for purposes of the State and Army. In the summer before the abdication he was raising money in Antwerp for the expenses of his table at as much as 25 per cent. interest and pledging the revenue of Spain until

[1] Gairdner, XXI, Part I, No. 1448.
[2] *Ibid.* Part I, p. 1210.
[3] Pirenne, III, 209.
[4] "Zeitalter der Fugger," II, p. 60.

1557.[1] In August the war against France and Philip's journey from England to Brussels for the abdication ceremony necessitated further borrowings from German and Genoese financiers. At the time of the abdication both Charles and Philip owed large sums in Antwerp and the former could not borrow further unless the latter joined as a party to promise repayment. Another great anxiety of the merchants in Antwerp who were willing to lend to the Spanish Crown was that payment should be made at Antwerp. Much of the wealth of the Spanish Crown consisted of the precious metals brought from the New World to Spain, and the transport of these to Antwerp by the merchants themselves, if they received payment in Spain, was attended by great risk, especially when, as at this time, war with France subjected their merchandise to the additional danger of capture. There was a great scarcity of gold and silver in Antwerp, and, as we have seen, the Magistrates and the merchants joined in 1552 in fitting out a fleet to bring a large quantity of bullion from Spain.

Mary of Hungary pointed out to Charles at this time that he had taken up a great amount of money in Germany and the Netherlands in the last three years and had repaid it in Spain, whence the merchants had great difficulty in bringing it, and so he must not be surprised if money was harder to come by in Antwerp in the future.

Rumours set abroad by Spanish agents constantly affirmed that fleets bringing silver were on their way to Antwerp, but their arrival was of rare occurrence. In 1554 Gresham had himself to bring from Spain 120,000 Carolus gulden (florins) which had been lent by Schetz to the English Crown. Portuguese merchants brought much of the silver which came to Antwerp. Mary's marriage with Philip had an injurious effect on the credit of the English Crown. On succeeding his father Philip found himself encumbered by debts and their interest, and the further sums needed for the war with France greatly increased this embarrassment. The town of Antwerp had borrowed money by granting annuities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but such liabilities were as nothing compared with those incurred to pay for the new fortifications begun after van Rossem's raid and the numerous works of public utility as the commerce of the town increased. Inundations, plagues, famines added to the burden on the town treasury, but the financial embarrassment encountered later was mainly due to the exactions of the central government, whether in taxes or loans. In the sixteenth century about 1,000,000 gold crowns were spent on the new fortifications alone. The purchase of houses for the foreign merchants, the building of the Tapestry Pand, the purchase from time to time of the tolls which hampered commerce, the

[1] Rawdon Brown, VI, No. 123, etc.

purchase of the Gallows Field, led to loan on loan. The gabels, dues and other revenues of the town belonged to the community, excepting some of the less important, which belonged to the Sovereign. According to Guicciardini, about 1567 the revenue of the town amounted to between 250,000 and 300,000 crowns a year, made up mostly of excise on wine and beer, that on wine bringing in 60,000 ducats a year and that on beer more than 80,000 ducats.

The credit of the town continued to be good on the Bourse long after that of the Kings of France and Spain had become of no value. The Netherland Government had learnt the necessity of preserving the standard of the coinage, and it remained much the same during Charles's reign. Next to Sir Thomas Gresham no Englishman who represented the Crown in Antwerp is of more interest than Stephen Vaughan, whose letters and reports have been so often quoted. He was a London merchant, one of the first agents of the English Crown to go into residence in Antwerp with the object of taking up money when needed, of repaying or prolonging loans when they became due, of buying arms, munitions, and jewels or whatever might be required, and of supplying the English Government with the useful information which was so easily picked up in the town. He became Governor of the Merchant Adventurers and resided in Antwerp, whence he wrote the numerous letters so often quoted.

CHAPTER XVI

ANTWERP FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP TO THE TREATY OF CATEAU CAMBRÉSIS

MICHELE SURIANO, the Venetian Ambassador at Philip's Court, wrote in 1559 an account of the Netherlands covering the period from Charles's abdication to that date.[1] He says that at that time the Provinces by reason of their large population, their wealth, the facilities offered by sea and rivers and the fertility of the soil were inferior to no kingdom in Europe. As far as the spirit of the inhabitants was concerned, the Venetian does not expend all his praise on their industry in trade, commerce, and agriculture, but reserves enough of it to acclaim the Flemish cavalry the best in the world. At his accession Philip possessed strong castles at Ghent and Cambrai, but in Antwerp he had a fortified town and mart town in one. Brabant and Flanders were still the most important members of the Seventeen Provinces. The total population of the Netherlands at the time of Philip's accession was something like 3,000,000 and these were of a vigour equal to that of any other people. Here we may give the names of the Seventeen Provinces. They were the Duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelders; the Counties of Artois, Hainaut, Flanders, Namur, Zutphen, Holland, and Zeland; the Margraviate of the Holy Roman Empire (Antwerp); the Lordships of Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen. No other country contained so many important towns as the Netherlands—they numbered about one hundred and forty great and small—and even Venetians had to admit that Antwerp was "la maggior piazza del mondo."[2] In Guicciardini's time Brabant contained twenty-six walled towns, eighteen lesser towns, and seven hundred villages with parish and church-bell. Three of the four great towns of Brabant were renowned among contemporaries for some special thing: Antwerp for carrying on the world's trade, Brussels for being the residence of the Court; and Louvain for its University. Bois-le-Duc had been the frontier town against Guelders, but since the conquest of that country its importance

[1] Alberi, "Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti," series 1, Tome III; Gachard, "Relations," etc.

[2] Relation of Badoaro, 1557, Alberi, series 1, Tome III.

had diminished.[1] The new Regent or rather Lieutenant-General was Philibert of Savoy, whose qualities as a military commander were well known.

The Scheldt before Antwerp was about 224 paces (of 5 feet) wide; by now even that part of it which flowed through Flanders was called "the river of Antwerp." Of the streets Guicciardini says the principal were the Meer Place, the Long New Street, the Kipdorp, Kaiser's Street, Cowgate Street, Tanners' Street, Cammerstrate or Brewers' Street, and High Street. We can form an idea of the picturesque appearance of the streets round the Bourse from an order issued by the Magistrates in May 1557 that they should no longer be choked with the stalls for the sale of fruit, birds, and all kinds of objects; that quack doctors, charlatans, ratcatchers, bird-catchers, ballad singers, touts, etc., should not stand there; that horses, oxen and other beasts must not be put up for sale.[2]

The war with France dragged on through the autumn of 1555. The new year had scarcely opened when Philip came to Antwerp to preside over the Chapter of the Golden Fleece, and although he was rather more affable than before, the enthusiasm manifested by his subjects was less ardent. He entered the town on Saturday, the 18th of January. The Nations had made triumphal arches, but not at such cost as before, save that of the Genoese on the Dryhoek. It was this arch which caused the disaster which marked the day. The powder used for the fire-work display which formed part of the "triumph" exploded just as Philip was approaching it, killing seven or eight persons, including one of the King's body-guard and one of his gentlemen, while several bystanders were injured. The danger of these pyrotechnic displays was notorious, and Philip, deciding not to incur further risk, ordered the procession to be abandoned. The zeal of the inventors had outrun their discretion. The English merchants were not in the town at Philip's coming, being at the mart at Bergen-op-Zoom, but they had caused a structure to be erected in imitation of an old castle. It stood, however, next in order after the structure of the Genoese and so was never seen by Philip. As Sovereign of the Seventeen Provinces Philip was Chief and Sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and the Chapter which he now opened was the first over which he presided and the only one ever held at Antwerp. On the day after his arrival, the 19th of January, he held a Council of the Knights at which the Statutes and Ordinances of the Order were read, Philip announcing certain changes which he intended to introduce.[3] The Chapter was held in the choir of Our Lady's Church, which for the purpose had been hung and carpeted with crimson

[1] Relation of Navagero, 1546, Alberi, series 1, Tome I.
[2] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I, p. 261
[3] Reiffenberg, "Histoire de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or."

velvet embroidered with gold. The transept was hung with tapestries setting forth the history of Charles's glorious expedition against Tunis, and the nave with others telling of the institution and the history of the Order.[1]

On the morning of the 21st the Knights reassembled and the original Ordinances for the officers laid down by Philip the Good, the founder of the Order, and the directions for the ceremonies to be performed were read. This was the real opening-day of the festival and it commenced with an attendance by the Knights at Vespers. The streets of the town through which the procession of Knights and white-robed Norbertines made its way from St. Michael's Abbey to the church of Our Lady were barricaded off and splendidly decorated. The scene in the choir of the church, peopled as it was by the Knights clad in scarlet tabards, and in long cloaks trimmed with ermine, and in round hats to match in colour, was one worthy of a modern Belgian painter. On the next day (the 22nd) Mass was celebrated, and the Chancellor explained the mysteries of the Order as symbolized by the robes and regalia of the Knights. Nine Knights were present, including Philip and the four officers of the Order. On the next day (the 23rd) a Mass was sung for the souls of those who had died since the last Chapter, the Knights coming to it clad in black, and the Greffier pronounced the funeral orations. As was the custom of the ceremony, a lighted candle was set for each of the Knights, and when their names were called the herald blew out the light of each dead one and cried, " He is dead." In the afternoon of this day the Knights came to the church dressed in white satin with red hats and cloaks to hear Vespers. On the 25th inquiry was made, in the manner customary in the Order, into the lives and conduct of the Knights and of the officers. The cases of the officers were taken first, and accusations which had been made against the Greffier in the outside world were investigated. It was said of him that he had misappropriated the Aids committed to his charge as Receiver-General, but Philip ruled that the Chapter could not go into the matter until the result of another inquiry which was being held should have been made known. Several Knights were reprimanded for faults in their general conduct. The inquiry which they held into the conduct of the Sovereign of the Order revealed the fact that he was clement, affable, magnanimous, humble, generous, and a lover of justice, but the Knights expressed the hope that he would be more careful than his father had been that the Order was not embarrassed through the privileges of its members being disregarded.

On the 27th the proposed alteration in the statutes was discussed and ten new members of the Order were elected to fill some of the vacancies. These were Don Carlos, Philip's son;

[1] " Chronyk van Antwerpen "

the Count of Horn; the Prince of Orange; the Duke of Arschot; the Marquis of Berghes; the Count of Meghem; the Lord of Glayon; the Lord of Courrières; Baron de Berlaiement; and the Count of Over-Empden. The rest of the vacant collars were divided on the next day between Italian, Spanish, and German nobles, namely the Marquis of Pescara; the Count of Sancta-Fiora; the Marquis Antonio Doria; the Duke of Cardona; the Duke of Sesa; the Count of Cabra; the Duke of Medina de Rio-Secco, Admiral of Castile; Duke Ferdinand; Duke Henry of Brunswick; Vladislaus, Baron of Bernstein. The most notable of the Knights who had died since the last Chapter were Henry VIII, Francis I, and Sigismund, King of Poland. This was the twenty-second Chapter of the Order, and the next—that held at Ghent in 1559, just before Philip finally returned to Spain—proved to be the last.

Philip was thought to have conducted the proceedings of the Chapter in a very satisfactory manner. He stayed in Antwerp watching tournaments, being present at an entertainment given at the English House and supping with the merchants. By the end of January the merchants were expecting peace with France and wagers were laid that it would be made within a month,[1] as indeed it was, on the 5th of February, at Vaucelles, promising a cessation of hostilities for five years. Philip watched a public display of Rhetoric by the "Violet" on the 23rd of February to celebrate the Peace, and Badoaro, the Venetian Ambassador, wrote next day to the Doge and Senate, "Yesterday many people of the trades went about Antwerp on cars, making sundry signs of rejoicing."[2] Philip departed on the 3rd of March. This year produced a long hot summer, in which corn was very dear—3 florins the viertal.

The chroniclers tell of an unpleasant experience of a burgher named Harman van Hoeck, and his wife on the 13th of May of this year (1556). A young man, a cloth-shearer's son, who was Harman's godson and had lived with him at one time, broke at night into his house behind St. Andrew's Church, with several companions. His knowledge of the house enabled them to enter by the cellar and bind Harman and his wife hand and foot in their beds. They then stole all the gold and silver they possessed. Harman's godson was caught and hanged a few weeks afterwards and it is sad to find that one Englishman was hanged outside Antwerp and another was beheaded at Mechlin for being concerned in the affair.[3]

Charles remained in Brussels for a twelvemonth after his abdication, and then sailed to Spain with his two sisters to spend the rest of his days in the cloister at Yuste. His departure was mourned by his Belgian subjects, for they had always regarded

[1] Rawdon Brown, VI, No. 362.
[2] *Ibid.* VI, No. 410.
[3] "Chronyk van Antwerpen."

him with affection. The observant Venetian, Federico Badoaro, noticed that the people thought all security departed with him, for they felt that he had preferred them to the Spaniards, and they were apprehensive that Philip through his liking for the latter would give the high official posts in the land to them.[1] The future showed that their fears with regard to Philip were justified, but it was only want of opportunity which had prevented Charles crushing the liberties of the Netherlands and the new religious doctrines altogether.

After this visit Philip came only once or twice to Antwerp, and but for flying visits, nor did he ever learn to speak either French or Flemish. He had none of his father's generous nature, but more of poor Joanna's madness. The accounts of two Italians—Badoaro, a Venetian, and Guicciardini, a Florentine—show us the nature of the people who lived in Antwerp as it presented itself to them about the time that this morose Spaniard came to the throne. Truly the Venetian often speaks spitefully and untruly of them. They were a cheerful race and did not let their many business affairs cause them too much anxiety, and they were inclined to be companionable, liking each other's society. They were great talkers and loved jests so much that rudeness was not always avoided, and some could not forbear to follow up a joke even though so doing entailed an indecent reference in the presence of the young girls of the family. They were good-tempered, courteous, and straightforward, and if they were quick to forget a kindness they did not brood over an injury nor bear malice. They were easy to deceive, for they were prone to believe too readily what they were told. Men conversed with married women in public and in private with considerable freedom, but they were not greatly given to lustful pleasures. Young members of the family were allowed to go in and out of the house without their parents' leave obtained on each occasion —a thing not understood at Venice. They were anxious to make money, but when a good fortune had been acquired a man would buy or build a house and live quietly in it. Their houses were very well furnished and always clean, but to a Venetian mind they kept poor tables. They dressed more richly than any people north of the Alps. They were abstemious as regards food, but both sexes drank a great deal. Some would on occasion drink for days and nights together, many thus incurring grievous maladies in mind and body. Guicciardini thought that much was to be excused them in this respect for the atmosphere of the country was damp and probably they could find no better means of counteracting the effect of the climate or of driving away melancholy than wine.

Music, painting, and dancing were dear to them. The women were beautiful and bore themselves graciously; it was their

[1] Rawdon Brown, VI, No. 229.

habit to converse freely from youth upwards with all they met, and this gave them a confident bearing which had more kindly dignity than austerity in it. In no other country did the women play a more active part in the daily life of a town. Beer, milk, rye bread, salt beef, salt pork, cheese, chickens, salt herring, and fruit in plenty were the food of the people. They loved joy and pleasure and feasting.[1]

In the summer of 1556 the plague appeared in some of the villages round the town, and the winter 1556–7 was exceptionally cold, so that in December the Scheldt was frozen for the first time for many years. The drought of the summer before had ruined the harvest and there was famine. In November it was necessary to distribute corn among the poor and to drive away the stranger-poor. On the 21st of November it was ordered that dogs in the streets must be killed, for they ate much bread and also spread the plague.[2] Wheat was scarce and bread was made of oats, barley, beans, etc. Wheat in Antwerp fetched 10 florins the viertal, rye 8 florins the viertal, and in May one of the famous ten breweries in the New Town was destroyed by fire with its contents of grain, so sorely needed.

In June the houses were searched for corn and grain, and on the 5th of the month a procession was held beseeching that the dearth might cease. Things were indeed in a parlous state, for to these Heaven-sent calamities must be added a new war with France which broke out in January 1557. In June Karel Goris, a button-maker, was prosecuted for addressing meetings with invective against kings, princes, and the great ones of the earth.[3]

Hungry men would steal the fruit which grew in the orchards in and round the town. Distress is said to have caused the death of over 19,000 persons in Brussels alone during the year July 1556—July 1557. The poor flocked into the large towns where they often received alms, so that many in ignorance were driven by hunger to overeat themselves suddenly and succumbed.[4] But by July 1557 rye could be obtained for 7 shillings de gros (about 2 florins) the viertal. This was due to the arrival of wheat ships[5] and the famine was over by the time the news of the victory of St. Quentin arrived in August, but plague was still about in the autumn and it haunted the town into the following year, so that (February 1558) beggars and others who lived on alms were ordered not to come among other folk unless they wore a badge. Famine and plague seem to have abated before July 1558, when a procession was held giving thanks for the victory at Gravelines. Except for the distress it caused

[1] Guicciardini, and Relation of Badoaro (1557) in Alberi, series 1, Tome III.
[2] Ordinances of Magistrates, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," I.
[3] *Ibid.* I.
[4] Le Petit, "La Grande Chronique ancienne et moderne de Hollande," etc., Tome II, p. 6.
[5] L. Torfs, "Fastes," etc., I, p. 191, and see the Chronicles.

them the poor of Antwerp found little to interest them in the war, though had their empty stomachs allowed them to look upon it dispassionately they would have been proud of the part their countrymen played in this struggle. Never before had the famous bands of Netherland cavalry done such service in the field, and in Egmont Philip found a dashing leader who should have been highly prized by any monarch. The first breach of the Truce of Vaucelles had not occurred on the Netherland frontier but had consisted of the sending of French troops under the Duke of Guise into Italy to the Pope's assistance. The army which Philip collected in the Netherlands was placed under Philibert of Savoy and sent into France. The Battle of St. Quentin was fought on the 9th of August, 1557, and the victory won by Philip's troops gave him the town of St. Quentin a few days later, after a gallant defence by Coligny. This disaster to the French arms led to the withdrawal of Guise from Italy, who captured Calais from the English and was pursuing a successful progress when the cavalry exploit of Egmont at Gravelines (13th of June, 1558) ensured for Philip a successful issue for the campaign.

In the battle Egmont's horse was killed under him and his life was saved by an Antwerper named Van der Noot, who dragged him from danger and carried him to safety. Van Meteren says there was such a cannonade at the taking of Calais that it could be heard at Antwerp, thirty-three leagues away. Charles did not live to see the end of the war, but died in some impatience that his son did not drive home his victories as he himself would have done. On the 22nd of November, 1558, began twenty-three days of mourning for him at Antwerp and his obsequies were celebrated on Christmas Eve.

It must have been at about the time of Charles's death that a convent-full of Sisters of St. Bridget settled finally in the town. The prosecution of Catholics under Henry VIII had driven them to Antwerp in 1536, and they were then given shelter at Falcon's Cloister. The prioress was related to Anne Boleyn and they were all of noble birth, one being a duchess and another a countess, but so little room was there for them in crowded Antwerp that they slept on straw strewn in the dormitories. They returned to England when Mary came to the throne but gave up all hope of dying in their native land at Elizabeth's accession and came again to Antwerp.[1]

Philip was a "new broom" to sweep out heresy and bent on the task, but peace with all his enemies was essential before he could do more than take preliminary steps. Just before his abdication Charles had taken further measures against heretics and in his farewell speech before the States, and again in a codicil to his will made just before his death, he pointed out the importance of stamping out heresy. Now his son was

[1] Diercxsens, IV, p. 155; Papebrochius, II, p. 183.

left to achieve that which his father had desired to accomplish. Philip hastened to reaffirm and reissue his father's Placards dealing with heresy, but the Magistrates of Antwerp complained that the concessions granted to their town were being violated and pointed out that the Placard of 1550 had not been published in any of the four great towns of Brabant.[1] Again, however, war came to hamper the persecution and Philip's bankrupt condition made him dependent on the goodwill of his subjects. In August 1556 the Placards dealing with Anabaptists were republished in Antwerp in spite of protests.[2] While Philip was in Antwerp in January 1556 five persons—two old men and three young girls—were arrested for infringing the Placards, but obtained pardon on account of the King's visit.[3]

The religious truce reached at Augsburg in February 1555 was the cause of the Netherlands being flooded with books on Luther's doctrines. Many considered that the preaching of the chaplains who came with Lazarus Swendi's German mercenaries in 1555, and the liberty to live as Lutherans which was permitted to the German troops themselves, did much to strengthen the growth of these doctrines in the town. Also many Protestants came from England at Queen Mary's accession and spread them further. It was, no doubt, to stem the wave of heresy that Philip, during his stay at Antwerp in 1556, gave permission to the Jesuit Fathers to establish themselves in the town. But a new teaching had by this time reached Antwerp, though few observed it. It was one that moved the people much more than the "damned teaching" of Martin Luther or that of the "horrible sect" of Anabaptists, as two Catholic contemporaries called them, and was that of Calvin. It entered the Netherlands from France soon after the crushing of Ghent, and Antwerp gradually became its headquarters. Calvinism aimed at reforming the State, and on its appearance in the Netherlands the whole aspect of the Reformation changed, its aim being henceforth revolutionary.[4] Its devotees were found mostly among the poorer class and they sought political liberty in rebellion. The first Calvinist to be put to death in the Netherlands suffered at Tournai in 1545. It was from such places as Tournai that the doctrines were brought by Walloons to Antwerp. Yet those put to death in Antwerp under Philip prior to the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis do not seem to have included many Calvinists. In 1556 an Anabaptist named Abraham was sentenced to death and executed on the Market Place.[5] On Whitsun Eve, Janneken Walraven, an Anabaptist, was executed.[6] About

[1] Wesenbeke's "Memoirs," etc., p. 94.
[2] Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII.
[3] Mulder, "De uitvoering der Geloofsplakkaten, etc., te Antwerpen," p. 18
[4] Pirenne, III.
[5] "Het Bloedig Tooneel," II, 166.
[6] *Ibid.* II, 178.

the same time five men were arrested for being Anabaptists, and after being tortured were executed publicly on the Market Place. On the 22nd of May following (1557) five Anabaptists were executed secretly in the Steen, but their bodies were set on wheels outside the town in the early morning.[1] On the 6th of July three women Anabaptists were drowned in wine-tubs in the Steen, their bodies being then put into sacks and thrown into the river early in the morning.[2] The "Bloedig Tooneel" differs from other accounts of this execution in stating that their bodies were not put into sacks, or covered with the breeches used on such occasions, but that in order to shame them they were thrown naked into the Scheldt.[3]

On the 10th of July Gielis van Aken, an Anabaptist leader, who had held a school for heretics and had baptized many persons, was executed. The fear of death by fire induced him to abjure his religion and even to undertake, in return for his life, to lead some of his co-religionists to recant likewise. This became known among the community and an elder among them at great risk found means to speak to Gielis in prison and persuaded him to abandon his infamous intentions. Having abjured his heresy he was beheaded on the Market Place, instead of being burnt, and he was reported to have said on the scaffold just before his execution that it was too much to lose body and soul together.[4] He was unworthy of the confidence his followers had placed in him, but Catholics described his death as that of a good Christian. After death his right hand was cut off and his body was hung on a wheel outside the town with the hand above it.[5] In January 1558 Franz Fraet, the printer, was beheaded on the Market Place. His crime was the selling and spreading of seditious books. He had been charged before and had been pardoned, but he persisted in his offence.[6]

Among the many put to death in Antwerp in 1558—Brandt numbers them at twenty, or as many as suffered in all the rest of the Provinces in this year—was Jacob the Mason, who was gagged to prevent his speaking to the people at his execution, Louis the Weaver, Franz Tiban, Little Dirk, Hendrik Leerverkooper, Anthonis and Dirk the painter, Hans the German, Sander Hendriksz, Hans the Smith, Hans van Burcolo and so on. Four more women were drowned in the Steen. A young girl named Janneken was brought before the Magistrates and freely confessed her belief. The Schout promised her grace if she abjured, and a Catholic preacher, named Balthazar, put it to her that God was in the Sacrament, but she made him repeat the first

[1] "Chronyk van Antwerpen."
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Het Bloedig Tooneel," II, 185.
[4] Brandt, I, p. 103.
[5] "Chronyk van Antwerpen."
[6] *Ibid.* and Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII.

words of the Lord's Prayer, and when he said "Our Father which art in Heaven" she asked how He could be also in the Sacrament. When the Vierschare asked her if she had been re-baptized she answered evasively in the manner of Anabaptists. She was drowned in a tub at the same time as another woman.[1]

A number of women were drowned in tubs in the Steen in 1559, and two were executed with the sword just before the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis was signed—a most unusual thing. A pregnant woman had a right to the postponement of her execution, and this was usually allowed her.

Adrianus Hæmstedius gives an account of the doings in 1559. Two Anabaptists, of the artisan class, one of whom was an elder, were brought to the scaffold before the Town House on the 19th of January. The former had been betrayed by his father. The Schout had given orders to prevent their speaking to the crowd which had assembled, and this caused great irritation, so that a tumult arose and the executioner's assistant had finally to strangle the victims. Their bodies were afterwards burnt. On the following Sunday the Schout made a house-to-house search and effected several arrests. This author also adds that the secret executions which took place in the Steen in January, February, and March of 1559 caused great resentment among the foreign Nations, for greater offenders against the community—thieves and murderers—were still executed in public.[2] The temper of the people can be judged from the account given of another execution. Cornelis Halewijn, a poorter of the town, and Herman Jansz of Amsterdam were arrested, the latter being accused of holding meetings in his house and of having married with Anabaptist rites. After long incarceration and frequent appearances before the Vierschare, they were brought up for the last hearing on the 28th of February, 1559. For fear of the people the Court did not pronounce sentence and the prisoners only learnt their fate when they were led to the condemned cell on their return to the Steen. Next morning the Schout came accompanied by monks, but the prisoners refused the offices of the latter. The Schout ordered them to be bound and wished each of them to carry a wooden cross and to walk beside the monks to persuade the people, no doubt, that they were reconciled with Holy Church, promising the favour of being beheaded with the sword and of exemption of their bodies from burning after death, if they conformed to his wishes, but they refused. On the way to execution Herman sang the one hundred and thirtieth Psalm, "Out of the deep I call." They were strangled and their bodies burnt. Feeling ran very high among the crowd, but nothing happened, though at one moment the Schout was seen to turn as white as a sheet, for he saw that his guards had

[1] "Het Bloedig Tooneel." [2] "Historie der Martelaren."

fied.[1] In 1559 about forty Anabaptists were executed in the Netherlands, of whom eighteen suffered at Antwerp.

We do not know what Fraet's publications were about, but the rest of these Antwerp victims appear to have been Anabaptists. They seem to have been inoffensive men and women whose chief sin related to baptism, there being no suggestion that they inclined towards communism or polygamy. Their heads were full of the Bible story and they regarded themselves as the reincarnation of Bible heroes. They particularly admired the oppressed and likened all oppressors to the Egyptians or Babylonians. Usually they refused to abjure their opinions and awaited the extreme penalty attached to such obduracy even in spite of the advice of their counsel—such as Master Pauwels Huldenberghe and Master Jan van Houte, who often defended them—to plead guilty and say they were led into heresy by others. Certain facts are noticeable about these prosecutions. Lutherans seem no longer to have been hunted down, and Anabaptism seems to have lost the characteristics which led to the excesses of those who held Münster, and to have appealed to a very harmless sort of folk of the artisan class. The Venetian Ambassador, writing in 1557, expressed surprise at the courage displayed by all those who suffered martyrdom in the Netherlands. In truth it was becoming evident that the blood of so many men and women had not been spilt in vain, and the secret drownings and beheadings in the Steen and the gagging of victims on the scaffold show how much the spectators sympathized with the victims.

A French Calvinist Congregation was established in the town in 1554 by the minister François Péruçel, with which Calvin corresponded, and in 1556 he was urging the necessity of assembling together to give each other courage, and was exhorting his followers not to be content with solitary devotion.[2] This advice seems to have been followed, for an Ordinance was issued by the Magistrates on the 1st of March, 1557, which mentions evangelical meetings which were being held in and outside the town and forbids them for the future.[3] At the same time a closer inquisition into the character of newcomers to the town was made, and in 1558 the Duke of Savoy ordered the Magistrates to stop the secret meetings which were being held, especially at night.[4] Preaching both inside and outside the town had always been common at Antwerp, but it was the Calvinists who made the practice popular. We find recorded in the accounts of the Schout that Jehan des Champs, schoolmaster of Berghen-in-Hainaut, was arrested and confessed that

[1] "Historie der Martelaren."
[2] "Letters of Jean Calvin," collected by Jules Bonnet, II, p. 110, etc.
[3] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," II, p. 343.
[4] Diercxsens, IV, p. 176.

he had fallen into evil opinions and had got mixed up with some of the sects, particularly Calvinism. He persisted in his error and was burnt alive.[1] So during the war which was ended by the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis the burnings and drownings of heretics were many in Antwerp, and the Calvinism which was to teach men how to make head against Philip's tyranny was already on foot in the town.

The teaching of Calvin as to man's relation to the State and the fervour aroused by the psalm-singing advocated by the organizers of the meetings opened a new era of the Reformation in the Netherlands, and the peculiar circumstance of unscrupulous autocracy on the one side and stubborn resistance on the other made the Netherlands the field on which many battles were fought for freedom in the second half of the sixteenth century. The gatherings to hear the preachers grew until in 1566 thousands trooped from the town with arms in their hands. Up to 1559 the persecution in Antwerp had been of a sort less severe than that carried out in the Netherlands beyond the borders of Brabant. This was due to the anxiety of the Magistrates to judge the town themselves in such affairs to the exclusion of Inquisitors and to the natural fear of the rulers of upsetting the trade which proved so lucrative to the Government Treasury. The citizens who acted reasonably—reasonably, that is to say, for an age in which most men were bigots—were little interfered with, and those who suffered were such as could not keep their mouths shut and advertised their views on matters, forcing their opinions before the public, and preferring martyrdom to relinquishing the notoriety they had gained by their singularity. The man or woman of mediocre intellect who has picked up ideas from others, which are not shared by and are perhaps abhorrent to the rest of the race—too easy-going or too self-conscious to set themselves against their neighbours—has commonly believed his ideas to be mainly of his own coining and has arrogated to himself the right to ridicule the rest of the world or to pay the extreme penalty of martyrdom in the endeavour to prove the superiority of his arguments over all others.

The conduct of the Magistrates was remarkably tolerant for the age both in their administrative and their judicial functions, and they were reluctant to share with the contemplative Orders of monks the duty of suppressing heresy. The Carthusians were not allowed to rebuild their cloister after its destruction in 1542, but Dominicans and Franciscans were sometimes empowered by the Magistrates to collect evidence, and they worked under the Court and the Inquisitor-General.[2] Brandt tells how at this time one of the Magistrates, named Gaspar de Realme, was struck with pity while hearing charges against heretics and was carried

[1] Personnes poursuivies, "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," VIII.
[2] Mulder, "De uitvoering," etc.

home in a fever crying that he was guilty of shedding innocent blood. We have seen the opposition the Magistrates offered to the Placard of 1550 which mentioned an Inquisitor as if he was a recognized official. Those accused of heresy were brought before the Vierschare and sentenced by it if found guilty, but the Magistrates were often anxious to set the prisoner free if he would turn over a new leaf. As it was, poorters and foreign merchants were not often arrested; the victims being rather fugitives from infected places, and the Magistrates had no jurisdiction to inquire into matters of conscience only, so that those who did not publicly offend against the Placards were left alone.[1]

The Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis set Philip and the French King free to take the repressive measures, against Calvinism and revolution, which go to make up the history of France and the Netherlands during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Persecution in Antwerp became much heavier just before Philip left the Netherlands.

In 1559 the Schout, Jan van Immerseel, offered a reward of 300 Carolus gulden for the capture of those who preached round Antwerp and 50 for that of anyone who attended the meetings, and many were brought to book in consequence; and persecution increased by leaps and bounds up to the signing of the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis. Everyone knew what to expect when peace was restored and the Magistrates—no doubt moved thereto by the nature of the Calvinists' doctrines—became more severe. Thirty-five persons, mostly Anabaptists, perished in Antwerp between Christmas 1558 and the 25th of June, 1560.[2] Philip's plans for an increase in the number of bishoprics concern what followed more than what preceded the Treaty, but the opposition offered by all classes shows that the Provinces had no intention of relaxing their hostility to any plan which seemed to be an excuse for the introduction of fresh inquisitorial methods.

We have now traced the growth of the religious movement in Antwerp from the days in which expression was first given by the Augustinian monks to the uneasiness felt by many with regard to the doctrines of the Church, down to the days in which the movement was threatening to become a national revolution against Philip and his Spanish advisers. Certainly from the first hostility to the Emperor and all existing authority was never entirely absent from the movement, but at the end of thirty years what of this kind had been the ideas of a few was becoming the ideal of many of the best men in the Provinces. The excesses of the followers of John of Leyden had strengthened the love of order in the breasts of both Lutherans and Calvinists, for they saw that such extremists could never triumph.

All that makes Antwerp a more interesting place than Ghent,

[1] Mulder, p. 20.

[2] Gachard, "Correspondence of Margaret of Parma," I, p. 137, footnote.

Bruges, Ypres, Cologne at the time of Philip's accession was due to its commercial prosperity and the resulting wealth of the intelligent and prosperous inhabitants. With his increase of wealth the merchant seemed now all-important, and old-fashioned people saw much that was wrong in the new state of society. Sir John Mason, writing from Brussels to the English Council in 1554, notices this change, and says: "So as contrary to nature and all God's forbode the merchant is now become the prince, and who needeth aid at their hands shall so pass therein as he shall feel the tyranny they have by prince's wilful desire either of enlarging of dominions or of revenge attained to."[1] In truth merchants not only pulled the golden strings which made the royal clients dance, but were themselves the makers of them. And yet through all the lustre of Antwerp—as the wise Chapuys, the Emperor's Ambassador in England, had observed ten years before—was to be found a defect from which the town suffered seriously later. Chapuys was speaking of the difference between Antwerp and London and he pointed out that in the latter the merchants were almost all Englishmen, while Antwerp was full of merchants of all nations and suffered in consequence when Charles went to war.[2] Later, when ill-fortune assailed the town these strangers fled from it like rats from a sinking ship. But Antwerp was as yet in a prosperity which she had enjoyed for some seventy years—prosperity due to the commerce which she had been able to snatch from Bruges. So the town's importance in the world, now that the apogee of her success was reached, must be gauged by the activity of her commerce, and, to some extent, of her industry. It seems that the highest point of prosperity was reached about 1550 and endured for about ten years. When Philip returned to Spain in 1559, four months after the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis had been signed, a new era began, or rather events took a different course, and religious persecution and fear as to what was going to happen handicapped and gradually stifled commerce and industry in the town. It has been said that the whole of the Southern Netherlands was now a mere suburb of Antwerp,[3] but it was a suburb which could send rich products for Antwerp to export. Brabant was itself a very fertile province and from it could be drawn, except in years of special scarcity, abundance of provisions for consumption by the inhabitants—beef, mutton, hares, pigeons, rabbits, turkeys, herons, swans, peacocks, pheasants, partridges, quails. Cider, perry, and wine, the last of poor quality, were made.

The rivers were full of fish and the land was wonderfully fertile but was not cultivated to its full extent, grazing being found more profitable than agriculture. At this time, too, many

[1] Turnbull, Mary, No. 261.
[2] "Calendar of State Papers, England and Spain," VII, cf. No. 8, p. 7.
[3] Pirenne, III, p. 259.

landowners had given up cultivating land and raising stock and had sought wealth in Antwerp in secret speculation. Like Flanders, Brabant seemed one large cluster of towns, villages, and farms.

The country to be seen from the walls of the town was very beautiful by reason of the number of fruit and other trees planted in long rows in the custom of Brabant. The fields were pleasant to look upon, and not only were there plenty of beasts to be seen at pasture, but on the arable land worked many labourers. Everyone agreed that the fields were greener and better to see than anywhere else. It was a land of milk and honey. If the sky was usually cloudy it presented many superb opalescent effects and there were some who considered that when the sun set behind the Flemish Headland covering the Scheldt with gold they looked on one of the most beautiful scenes in the world.

The sudden variation of temperature caused by changes of wind seemed a source of danger, and the winters were often very severe, so that the Venetian Badoaro said that it was the inclemency of the climate added to the insalubrity of the water and the air which made gout so common a malady among the people. In spite of the cold and damp peasants in the Campine were said to outlive those in any other part of the Provinces. If the average Netherlander did not live to a great age, he did not die young. Storms of thunder and lightning were not very common and caused much stir when they came, so that chroniclers noted them. The north wind was the terror in the long winter, just as rain was the annoyance in the summer.[1]

The position of Antwerp in the centre of the Seventeen Provinces allowed all their products to fall into her lap and her geographical position was ideal for a commercial town. In it Philip possessed a "pack-house" such as he could never expect to see in Spain or Italy. The banks of sand along the course of the Scheldt were dangerous to shipping in rough weather, but pilots were put into ships going up or down and a system of coastguard had been established to minimize the danger. Mariners brought their ships there from every foreign port, for the harbour itself was safe and commodious, while inland waterways facilitated communication with all parts of the Provinces. In 1561 a canal was completed connecting the town with Brussels, and by similar ways or by river it was possible to approach Ghent, Mechlin, Tournai, etc. Now improvements had brought about the faster sailing of ships and better roads had shortened the horseman's journey. Sailing could be made to Lisbon in less than ten days with a good wind, to Spanish ports in six to fourteen days with a good wind according to the port, to English ports

[1] Besides Guicciardini and Badoaro, Suriano, the Venetian, furnishes a good description of the Provinces.

in less than a day with a fair wind, to Norway in two or three days, to Denmark in two, to Sweden in six. From Antwerp ships found their way down Scheldt to Bergen-op-Zoom, Rotterdam, and along the Holland canals to Delft, Leyden, Gouda, Harlem, and Amsterdam. They went up the Scheldt to Rupelmonde, Termonde, Ghent, Oudenarde, Tournai, and Valenciennes, where it first became navigable. A courier took from seven to ten days to reach Spain. The favourite route to Paris was to Calais by water and then by litter or coach. A merchant, Gresham for instance, travelling from Antwerp to London would sometimes go by Bruges, Nieuport, Dunkirk, and Calais, a three days' journey at least. This was the way the post went. Sometimes he would cross the Channel at Dunkirk.[1] Departing from Antwerp he spoke of taking his journey "upwards" to England.

Guicciardini loved to stand on the quay and watch the ships continually coming and going with the tides. He says there were ships of all sorts and that the quays, as well as the ships, were thronged with men of every race, speaking all languages, handling every kind of merchandise. Here he saw something new in every hour and many thoughts were suggested to him by the sights around him. Scribani tells us that not on one occasion only were to be seen 2,500 ships in the river, the late-comers of them having to lie at anchor for two or three weeks before their turn came to be unloaded at the quay. Also he says that no day passed on which at least 500 ships did not sail in or out of the river laden with merchandise of every kind. He adds that he has heard that often 400 ships have come in at one tide. Also every day 200 wagons came into the town filled with travellers. Each week 1,000 wagons came from Germany, the Hansa towns, Lorraine, and France, laden with merchandise and creaking under their burdens. In addition to these came country carts bringing all kinds of provisions to the number of over 10,000 a week. Besides these vehicles there were in the town some 500 carriages used for pleasure by the inhabitants.[2] It should be said here that Guicciardini of Florence, the nephew of the historian, was resident in Antwerp for a long time, carrying on business as a banker. His account of the Netherlands was written about 1560, being enlarged in later editions, and it tells of all he gleaned during his residence. Scribani, who was of a family of Placentia, was a Jesuit, who wrote "Antwerpia" and "Origines Antwerpiensium" in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Wharf to which the ships came stood high above the river and was paved. It was very spacious, and was remarked by foreigners because of the fine crane, erected in 1546, after which it was often called.

[1] Burgon, I, 107, etc.

[2] "Origines Antwerpiensium," p. 74.

Unfortunately the quays were rather crowded in by the houses and the wall in some places. The Scheldt before Antwerp could accommodate ships of any size, and experienced sailors said that the port was unequalled in the world.

The town lay about forty-five miles above Flushing. On their arrival the ships went by canals or basins into the heart of the town, and the turn of the tide caused an animated coming and going of ships and boats of all sorts.[1] Scribani finds that the population was at its largest from 1556 and onwards until 1577 and estimates that during these years the total number of inhabitants was over 200,000.[2] Half the number would consist of poorters and foreigners living in the Freedom and the other half of sailors, visitors, and travellers. Scribani has been accused of exaggeration, but the confluence of persons at all events was such that rents and house-hire were greater than in any place which Guicciardini knew of excepting Lisbon. We do not know the exact number of houses at the time. In 1568 it was, according to Guicciardini, 13,500, but there must have been many fewer ten years before. The houses near the walls were occupied by the richer inhabitants and stood in fine streets, but those in the older part of the town formed a great contrast to them. These were high buildings occupied from cellar to garret. A house of five or six rooms could not be hired for less than 200 crowns a year during the years Antwerp was most crowded, and others were let for 500 crowns and more. In the rest of the Netherlands were still to be found many houses of earth and wood, but such structures were fast disappearing in Antwerp before the style introduced by van Schoonbeke.

Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote to Cecil in November 1559 that " house-room " in Antwerp without board was ten shillings a day (which would have represented something like £5 of our money). This was of course the charge made to a visitor or lodger who would expect to pay heavily, but he adds to this information that living in the Netherlands was almost twice as expensive as in France.[3] Gresham received 20 shillings a day for diet when he first went to Antwerp and complained that it was not sufficient.

When Schetz was Philip's factor in Antwerp he was allowed 3 florins a day for expenses. In a humbler walk of life 16 pence or 2 shillings was enough. In 1556 Sir John Mason, the English Ambassador, was in Antwerp during Philip's stay there to preside over the Fleece, and he found his expenses amounted to £35 and sometimes £36 a week.[4] When Gresham (1552) had carried through a piece of the King's business which had brought him to Antwerp he gave a banquet to those con-

[1] Calvete de Estrella, IV.
[2] " Origines Antwerpiensium," p. 73.
[3] Kervyn, " Relations Politiques," II, p. 90.
[4] *Ibid.* I, No. XII (" If itt be nott so, Godde confounde me ").

cerned—Fugger, Schetz, and others—which cost £26—equivalent to £250 or more of our present money, and there appear to have been only twenty persons present.[1]

There does not seem to have been a great number of unemployed men in the town, and it was only such as these, and the infirm, women, disbanded soldiers, foundlings, lepers, who could not easily prosper. In 1540 the whole system of poor relief was reorganized and put entirely under the control of the Almoners, who granted both indoor and outdoor relief. Such persons as came under the hands of the Almoners were not present in the minds of those who said there were no poor in Antwerp, and indeed there were not many. Both the shopkeepers and the artisan class were very prosperous. Such men had a great desire to become rich, and with this in view they worked hard and well. Guicciardini says that if anyone asked what trades were exercised in the town the answer was "All." A few may be named.

Shipbuilding of all kinds, perhaps the oldest industry; making of cloth of various kinds and of linen of all qualities, of tapestry, of imitation Turkey carpets, and of fustian; making of all kinds of weapons and munitions of war; tanning, dyeing, painting, colour-making and colouring, gilding and silvering and goldsmiths' work including diamond cutting; making of glass in Venetian style—of which some specimens are still to be seen in the Museum; making of all kinds of haberdashery and embroidery and work in gold, silver, silk, thread, and wool, etc.; making of silk cloths, velvet, satins, damask, taffetas, etc.; silk-making and silk-working (the silk worms were imported about 1560), metal refining, wax refining, sugar refining, vermilion making, carriage building, salting fish, soap-making, glass-painting, clavecin and harpsichord making. In 1557 the Magistrates ordered all book-printers, -binders, and -sellers to enrol themselves in the Guild of St. Luke in conformity with a regulation of 1442. The printers only obeyed after a stout resistance, probably because the Guild claimed the right to examine their books and forbid certain writings to be printed.[2] Besides these were of course those who worked to supply the daily needs of the inhabitants.

In order to show the size of the town Guicciardini sets out the number of shopkeepers in some of the chief trades. Master bakers, 169; butchers, 78; sellers of sea-fish, 75; sellers of fresh-water fish, 16 or 17; barber-surgeons, 110; tailors and hosiers, 594; goldsmiths, without counting a great number of lapidaries and engravers of stones, 124.

There were twenty-six privileged Guilds since those of the weavers and fullers had been suppressed, that of the mariners being

[1] Burgon, I, p. 83. [2] M. & T., IV, p. 274

the oldest and strongest, just as it was at the time of the "Quaey Wereld." The last owned a fine Guild House in the Market Place (behind the present Town House) and had a hospital and chapel of their own. The mercers' was the richest Guild, including as it did all merchants and artisans who sold cloth of gold, silver, or silk in retail. By this time the shearmen had taken the place of the weavers as the Guild third in importance. Naturally the increase of commerce had led to the coming to Antwerp of a great number of men anxious to find employment in unloading ships and wagons, etc. Guicciardini thought that so much business kept the young men from becoming depraved by pleasure and idleness and that it sharpened their faculties and made them love the town, but he forgot that the Hansa merchants were reluctant to come to the town because of the turbulent behaviour of these same young men. The Antwerp workmen had a knack of imitating what they saw another do, as is shown by the establishment in the town of the manufacture of Venetian glass and Turkey carpets, and a score of other industries. Most of the poorer class of inhabitants could read and write and were therefore at a great advantage in all their dealings, but the merchant classes and the better shopkeepers had the distinction of being remarkable linguists.

The schools were very good, and promising scholars were sent to complete their education at Louvain, or in France, Germany, or Italy. In some of the schools French was taught to girls as well as boys. The Fleming who could talk French as well as his own language could make himself understood by most of the foreigners. Many of the Antwerpers, even the women, could speak three or four languages, although they might never have left their native country, and there were some who could speak five, six, or even seven. Perhaps Scribani had the richer classes in his mind when he wrote as to this linguistic proficiency or meant that the people could merely speak enough of each language to make themselves understood when speaking of matters which frequently arose, for it is hardly likely that many common folk could have spoken several languages. All the foreign merchants had to observe the laws of the town, but they considered that they lived in greater freedom than they would anywhere else excepting at home. Without going far from the door of the house in which one lodged it was possible to hear speech and see attire and customs of many distant nations. Morning and evening the merchants repaired to the English Bourse,[1] and there they bought and sold all sorts and kinds of merchandise through numerous interpreters. Guicciardini gives a list of some of the most important merchandise which was sent to Antwerp from foreign lands and of that which went back in exchange.

[1] It is uncertain when and where this Bourse was built.

From *Rome* came no merchandise of value.

To *Rome* were sent several kinds of woollen goods, as tapestry, serges, ostades (worsteds), demi-ostades (the nature of these is unknown), and linens.

From *Ancona*, Oriental produce such as camblets and watered camblets of several kinds, spices, drugs, silks, cotton, felt, carpets, morocco leather, Indian colour.

To *Ancona* were sent much English cloth, cloth made in the Netherlands, especially that of Armentières, serges, ostades, linen, a few tapestries, Spanish cochineal, which was very costly.

From *Bologna* came rich cloths of silk, gold and silver, caps and similar articles.

To *Bologna* were sent all kinds of serges, demi-ostades, tapestries, linen, merceries or small wares, and some cloth.

From *Venice* came Eastern spices such as cloves, cinnamon, nutmegs, ginger, several Eastern drugs such as rhubarb, aloes, cassia-bark, agaric or touchwood, dragon's blood, mommie, senna-leaf, colocynth or bitter apple, seaside scammony, tutty (a mineral medicine), mithridate, theriack, beautifully fine silk cloths and unworked silk, camblets, grograms and unwatered camblets, carpets, good scarlets, cottons, cumin, ebony, merceries of silk and other kinds, azure and other colours used in dyeing and painting.

To *Venice* were sent jewels and pearls, much English cloth and wool, several kinds of cloth made in the Netherlands, such as serges of Hondschote, Lille, Arras, Valenciennes, Mons, etc., ostades and demi-ostades, linen, crimson, tapestries, various kinds of mercery and household furniture, sugar and pepper.

From *Naples* came some silk cloths, skins, saffron of Aquila (used medicinally and in cooking), manna (used medicinally).

To *Naples* were sent cloths of Netherland make, English cloths, linen, serges, ostades and demi-ostades, tapestry, merceries, metals.

From *Sicily* came both by sea and land great quantities of gall-nuts, cumin, oranges, cotton, silk, wine of several kinds, such as malvoisie.

To *Sicily* were sent much cloth and linen, serges, tapestry, innumerable merceries of metal and other sorts.

From *Milan* and *Milanese* territory came costly gold and silver thread, silk cloths, cloths of gold, fustians, dimity (i.e. a thick cotton cloth), scarlets, stametten or estamets (worsteds) and other fine cloths, rice, good armour of all sorts and weights, several sorts of mercery, and various things down to parmesan cheese.

To *Milan* were sent pepper, sugar, jewellery, musk and other perfumes, quantities of English cloth and Netherland cloth, abundance of all kinds of serges, demi-ostades, linen in great quantity, tapestry, crimson colour, English and Spanish wool.

From *Florence* came cloths of gold and silver (curled and uncurled), brocades and other beautiful and costly silk cloths, gold and silver thread; cloths called rasses, which were good and lasted well; silks called capitons, of double and single woof; fine marten and weazel skin, and other articles of luxury.

To *Florence* went serges of several kinds, demi-ostades, linens, flax, fans for blowing fires, friezes (coarse warm woollen cloths), English wool.

From *Genoa* came much velvet of all qualities, including the best which could be obtained, excellent stuffs of silk and satin, coral, the best quality of mithridate, theriack.

To *Genoa* went both English and Netherland cloths, serges, demi-ostades, linen, tapestry, merceries, furniture and utensils for the house.

From *Mantua* came silk cloths, raw silk, costly hats.

To *Mantua* went such things as have already been enumerated, as being exported from Antwerp.

Verona, Brescia, Vicenza, Modena, and other Italian towns traded with Antwerp.

From *Lucca* came cloths of gold and silver (but their coming was rare), silk cloths in great number and of many kinds but such as were not of the best quality.

To *Lucca* went such merchandise as has been said to go to other Italian towns.

The seaborne trade from Italy included alum from Civita Vecchia, oil from Apulia, Genoa, and Pisa, gall-nuts and several kinds of gum, cottons, cumin, senna-leaf, white iris which the Florentines called Diaggiulo, sulphur, orpiment (auripigmentum) and large merceries; while returning vessels took out tin, lead, madder, Brazil-wood, wax, hides, flax, tallow, salt fish, particularly salmon and herring, wood of precious quality, wheat, rye, beans, vegetables.

Guicciardini valued the rich cloths and the silk alone which came from Italy each year at about 3,000,000 crowns.

From *Germany* came silver in blocks and in ingots, quicksilver, copper, refined and unrefined, in almost incredible quantities, wool from Hesse, glass, fustians to the value of over 600,000 crowns, pastel (for dyeing), madder (for dyeing), saffron (for dyeing), saltpetre, merceries, beautiful house-furniture, wonderfully well made, metals of all kinds to a very great value, weapons of all sorts to a great value, Rhine wine both white and red to an amount of over 40,000 tonneaux a year, each tonneau or tonn containing 6 ames of Antwerp measure and valuing 36 crowns, so that the whole value of it was some 1,500,000 crowns.

To *Germany* went precious stones and pearls, spices, drugs, saffron, sugar, English cloths, Netherland cloths, serges, ostades, demi-ostades, tapestry, linen, merceries of all sorts.

From *Denmark,* the *Osterland, Livonia, Norway, Sweden,*

Poland and other northern parts much valuable produce came by sea, grains, wheat, and rye to great value, copper, brass, saltpetre, wood, vitriol, madder, good Austrian wool, flax, honey, pitch, wax, sulphur, potash, skins, sables, ermine, lynx, leopard, weasel, white fox, common fox, white wolf, common wolf, and the skins of several kinds of sea-beasts, hides of all kinds of animals, wood for shipbuilding, etc., including a kind called Waghescot, which was rather like walnut and much used in the Netherlands; beer, salt meat, and fish salted, smoked, and dried, yellow amber called of Dantzig.

To the *Northern Countries* went a great quantity of spices and drugs, saffron, sugar, salt, English cloth, Netherland cloth, serges, ostades, demi-ostades, fustians, linen, jewellery, silk-cloth, cloth of gold, camblets of all sorts, some tapestry, some wine (chiefly Spanish), alum, Brazil-wood (used for dyeing), mercery, furniture.

From *France* came salt from Brouage near Rochelle to the value of 180,000 crowns, pastel of Toulouse, which was very good, over 40,000 bales a year valuing 300,000 crowns, and coarse linens of Brittany and Normandy, to a great sum; white wines and clarets to the amount of about 40,000 tonneaux a year, to the total value of 1,000,000 crowns a year; oil, saffron and grain of Provence, honey, turpentine, pitch, writing-paper, looking-glasses, prunes, Brazil-wood brought from America by the French at great peril, gilded work well and artistically done, some fine cloths of Paris and Rouen, crimsons of Tours, woollens of Champagne, thread and hemp from Lyons, verdigris of Montpelier, merceries.

To *France* went precious stones, pearls, silver in block and ingots, quicksilver, copper, bronze, latten wrought and unwrought, lead, tin, vermilion, azure, crimson colour, sulphur, saltpetre, vitriol, camblets, grograms and Turkish cloths, English cloths of several sorts, Netherland cloths, fine linens, serges, ostades, demi-ostades, tapestry, Austrian wool, skins, furs, wax, madder, hops, tallow, cuttle-fish, salt-fish.

From *England* came cloth both fine and coarse, to the amount of over 200,000 pieces a year, valuing altogether 5,000,000 crowns, or over £1,000,000 sterling; very good wool (most of it went to Bruges and valued over 250,000 crowns a year), very good saffron, tin, lead, wool-fells, and several kinds of furs and skins, beer, various articles of food, and even malvoisie brought from Candia.

To *England* went jewellery and precious stones, silver, quicksilver, cloth of gold, cloth of silver and silk, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms and Turkish cloths, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cumin, gall-nuts, fine and coarse linen, serges, demi-ostades, tapestry, madder, hops, salt fish, all sorts of metal merceries, arms of all sorts and munitions of war, house furniture.

Guicciardini puts the whole trade, export and import, between England and the Netherlands at over 12,000,000 crowns, and Scribani, building on this, puts the whole of Antwerp's trade at 133,000,000 of gold, not counting the money business.

From *Scotland* came skins of sheep and rabbits and furs, some of which were brought from other countries, hides, cloth of poor quality, a poor sort of pearl.

To *Scotland* went spices, sugar, madder, silk-cloths, camblets, serges, linens, merceries, but Scotland did not take much from Antwerp, for the people were poor and most of what they needed came from France.

From *Ireland* came hides, cloths of little value and but little else, and Antwerp sent little.

From *Spain* came all sorts of merchandise, precious stones, pearls brought from the West Indies, also gold, silver, crimson colour called cochineal, sarsaparilla-root (much used by doctors), Holywood or gayac (used for healing what the Spaniards called the French sickness). All these came from the New World, but from Spain itself came saffron, drugs, scarlet, silk, silk-cloths of all sorts, velvet of Toledo, taffetas, salt, alum, orcille from the Canaries, called Raspe by the Florentines, and used in dyeing; very fine wool, iron, leather, some white wines, sweet oil, grease for weaving, vinegar, honey, theriack, gum Arabic, soap, fruits both fresh and dry, as oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, olives, melons, capers, dates, figs, raisins, almonds, wine and sugar from the Canaries.

To *Spain* went copper, bronze, latten, tin, lead, English cloths, serges, ostades, demi-ostades, tapestry, fine linens and coarse, camblets, flax, yarn, wax, pitch, madder, tallow, sulphur, wheat, rye, salt meat and fish, butter, cheese, all kinds of merceries of metal, merceries of silk, grogram, etc., silver, silver work, weapons and armour and all kinds of munitions of war, house furniture of all kinds.

From the *East* the Portuguese brought precious stones and pearls, spices to the value of over 1,000,000 crowns, drugs, amber, musk, civet (given to children to cure colic), ivory, rhubarb, aloes, indigo, cotton, Chinese roots, and a great amount of other costly Eastern merchandise, also sugar from the Island of St. Thomas, Brazil-wood, drugs from the coast of Guinea, wine from Madeira.

From *Portugal* itself came salt, wine, oil, pastel, grain, orcille, and several kinds of fruit, fresh, dried, and preserved.

To *Portugal* went silver, quicksilver, vermilion, copper, bronze, latten worked and in the rough, lead, tin, arms, artillery, munitions of war, silver thread, and other such merchandise as was sent to Spain.

From *Barbary* came sugar, azure, gums, bitter-apple, hides, furs, feathers.

To *Barbary* went cloths, linen, serges, merceries, metals, etc.

Every year tapestry to the value of 500,000 scudi was exported from Antwerp and horses to the value of 50,000 ducats (nearly £25,000).

After transacting business on the English Bourse the merchants went to the New Bourse to treat particularly of deposits and exchange. Both native and foreign merchants did an enormous amount of business of this sort in Philip's reign.

There were over one thousand foreign merchants in the town. Some five thousand merchants, captains of ships, and people of all kinds would gather at the Bourse—Spaniards, Portuguese, Venetians, Milanese, Genoese, Luccese, Florentines, Neapolitans, English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, Danes. All the great towns of Europe had their representatives there. Each nation had its place on the Bourse. The English stood in the middle, to the right in the foreground the Italians and Spaniards, to the left the French and Walloons, and between them the Germans and Osterlings. Behind the English were the Burgundians, the Hollanders, and those from Scandinavia.

Enough has been said to give an idea of the finance business done, but a little must be added here to bring the story up to the date of the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis.

When Philip became ruler of the Netherlands he decided to keep a factor at Antwerp to enable him to contract for loans when he required money without having to send Secretary Erasso for the purpose, and his choice fell upon Gaspar Schetz. After 1559 the Spanish finance business at Antwerp was done by Juan Lopez Gallo, Schetz doing that of the Netherlands. At the time of Philip's arrival at Antwerp for the Chapter of the Fleece, 300,000 crowns were expected—so it was said—from Spain, but they did not come, and the Antwerp merchants were compelled to defer payment of bills of exchange until the next mart, which was the third mart held since payment became due.[1] Schetz was busy raising money to pay the troops serving under Orange on the Meuse when Philip arrived.[2] As Philip's factor Schetz greatly increased his importance, so that by 1560 Gresham could write of him that he dominated all the Netherland money-business and the Antwerp Bourse. His contract with Philip forbade him to lend money on his own account or to trade in consideration of the receipt of a fixed salary and a percentage on business done by him for Philip, but this provision he eluded as far as lending money was concerned. In 1572 the Schetz family fell into financial trouble.[3]

The Truce of Vaucelles seemed as if it would lighten the financial burden on Philip's shoulders, and the need for such relief can be appreciated from the fact that in April 1556 Don

[1] Rawdon Brown, VI, No. 331.
[2] Gachard, "Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne," I, 260.
[3] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 370, etc.

Ruy Gomez was sent to Antwerp to raise 400,000 crowns by exchange, to pay the arrears of salary due to officials of the Courts of both the Emperor and Philip, and 200,000 to pay the soldiers on the frontier.[1] He raised the money, but had to pay 23 per cent. interest and costs. This sum was lent by Fugger, through Mathias Oertel, and it was granted on condition that for all his debts to the Fuggers, including 12 per cent. interest, Philip assigned certain personal income, and for repayment certain high Netherland officials gave their personal obligation, while the first Aid to be granted by the States was mortgaged.[2] At about the same time the Fuggers accepted a Netherland Rentmasters' letter as security for 1¼ million Carolus gulden in which the Rentmasters of the several Provinces were bound as first principal, Philip's own security not being considered good enough. Other loans were made to Philip by Fugger. Before the end of November 1556 the hope of continued peace held out by the Truce of Vaucelles had proved illusory and the French merchants were in flight from Antwerp, while Philip's German creditors in the town were requesting him to repay the loan of about 1,100,000 crowns which they had lent to the Emperor before he embarked on a new war. Far from repaying the money Philip borrowed afresh from Fugger and Spanish merchants. For a week or two, however, the war-scare passed over and there was a respite before war actually broke out. To give some idea of Philip's indebtedness, even before the war plunged him into further difficulties, we may note that whereas in 1554 the interest and other costs of the Netherland Government's floating debt amounted to 285,982 livres of 40 gros, they amounted to 424,765 such livres in 1555 and 1,357,287 in 1556.[3] In the first years of his reign Philip profited by the advice of Alberto Pinelli, the Genoese, in his money transactions at Antwerp, but chiefly, as it appears, in so far as they concerned the Spanish Government. Pinelli was a great man in his business, but a greater was another Genoese, Silvestro Cataneo.

In January 1557 war began again with France—entirely successful, as we have seen, for Philip—but the cost of it came at a time when his treasury, like that of his rival Henry II, was empty. The payments of the Netherland Rentmasters were discontinued and the condition of the money market at Antwerp was overturned. Philip could raise no more money and even Queen Mary had to pay 14 per cent.[4] In this state of things the bankruptcy of many of the great Antwerp firms was only a matter of time. At the period of the bankruptcy of the French and Spanish Crowns the Augsburg Welsers were owed altogether

[1] Rawdon Brown, VI, No. 464, etc.
[2] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 160, etc.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, 66.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 175.

182,199 florins by the Spanish, French and Netherland Governments,[1] and their claims remained for the greater part unpaid. In 1561 the Kings of Spain, France, and Portugal owed more than they possessed. The loss sustained by merchants of all nations by reason of the bankruptcy of the Kings of Spain, France, and Portugal and the non-payment on the Netherland Rentmasters letter is estimated at least at 20 million ducats, or 200 million marks of modern German value. The full extent of the loss did not at first appear and all the merchants survived until 1561. In the spring of 1557 Philip postponed his payment at Antwerp Fair and even the town found it necessary to do the same. Philip could not pay Fugger or anyone else, for he needed every penny to pay his troops. Fugger indeed lost heavily by the too-willing manner in which Mathias Oertel had lent to the King. Millions were still lent on the Antwerp Bourse, not only to the Netherland Government, which was financially sound, but to the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, which could never repay the capital.

In January 1558 we find William of Orange again at Antwerp trying to borrow money through Schetz on the security of Netherland nobles. Raising money on this security or on a Rentmasters' letter proved a difficult task because the nobles were no longer looked upon as very good security and, as Orange pointed out to Philip, some letters given by Rentmasters had not been satisfied. Philip at this moment needed 100,000 crowns and the English merchants in Antwerp offered Orange to pledge their credit for 30,000 crowns of it, demanding as security the obligations of the Duke of Savoy and the nobles of the Netherlands. When it came to the point, however, some of the nobles would not sign the obligation.[2] This money was needed to pay the troops. All notable merchants were withdrawing their money from the town and it was very scarce, and yet in May Philip granted licence to Mary to pass 100,000 crowns out of Antwerp to England, on condition she did it secretly.[3]

In May 1558 Philip swooped down on Antwerp on hearing that ships had brought money from Spain for certain merchants,[4] and he considered every expedient to which he might resort for the purpose of squeezing money out of his subjects—forced loans from the merchants seeming the best. It was solely through the help of the Genoese that he could pay his army at the end of 1558, but the only security which was acceptable seems to have been the bond of the States or of the town of Antwerp.

The Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis put an end to war with France, and Philip could consider his position. At about the time of the signing of the Treaty Philip owed Fugger alone some

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, p. 208.
[2] Gachard, "Correspondance de G. le Taciturne," I, No. cclviii, No. cclix, No. cclxiii, No. cclxvi, No. cclxvii.
[3] Turnbull, Mary, No. 775.
[4] Rawdon Brown, VI, No. 1237.

3,000,000 ducats or 4,000,000 gulden. The credit of the great banking-house had not yet begun to decline in Antwerp and the Fugger-letter was considered as good as cash. When this firm borrowed money it had to pay far less interest than any other, and even less than the town itself,[1] but soon its credit began to decline rapidly. It was in 1560 that Anthony Fugger died, the greatest man of the family, leaving 6,000,000 golden crowns in ready money (according to Guicciardini), or about 120,000,000 francs of to-day, and much landed property.

The mixing up of the Spanish-Netherland finances with those of England after the Spanish-English marriage did harm to the financial position of England without benefiting that of Spain. In August 1555 Gresham wrote to Queen Mary from Antwerp to point out that one of the chief things she had to look to for the maintenance of her credit was the making of payments when they fell due; if she did this her credit would be better than that of any other Prince. The coming payment would be the first she had been called upon to make, and therefore it was all the more important to meet it, but when the time came it was prolonged.[2] Another point on which Gresham insisted was that the English Council should take up money at interest when it was required and not by exchange, as that course would prevent a fall in the exchange and the consequent withdrawal of the fine gold and silver from England.[3] The Company of Merchant Adventurers and that of the Merchants of the Staple could be forced to go surety for the Queen. They got their money back in course of time when called on to pay, but they suffered much inconvenience in the meantime and loss.

There was at this time talk of prohibiting the export of kerseys and other woollens from England to Flanders with the object of bringing down the price in England. Such a prohibition, if applied to other merchants than themselves, was a reward or repayment which the Adventurers would at any time accept in part payment of a loan. Therefore at the end of 1556 all merchants, English or alien, excepting the Adventurers, were forbidden to export woollens to any place in Flanders (i.e. in the Netherlands) excepting Bruges under heavy penalties. This favour was granted to the Adventurers in consideration of their undertaking to lend £40,000 sterling to the Queen.[4]

But the Spanish State Bankruptcy made lenders look with suspicion on princes, and Gresham found difficulty in borrowing cheaply for the Queen. Often he could not get money at 14 per cent. In April 1558 she authorized him to pay even more than 14 per cent. if necessary. She was then in great need of £10,000, part of a sum of £200,000 required for one year, some of which was to pay German mercenaries to fight for her in Scotland.

[1] "Zeitalter der Fugger," I, 171.
[2] Turnbull, Mary, No. 403.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 438.
[4] Rawdon Brown, VI, Nos. 771, 776.

For the same war Gresham was sending powder, armour, and other munitions,[1] indeed all there was to be had in Antwerp, and ransacking Germany for more. Payments were being further postponed, for Philip's benefit, and financiers became loath to lend; the chief merchants were daily withdrawing their money from the town in disgust. In May 1558, in spite of the scarcity of money, Philip granted licence to export 100,000 crowns from Antwerp to England, but said it must be done secretly.[2] Philip was himself at Antwerp at this time raising every penny he could for his own purposes. Saltpetre was just as needful to Philip at the moment as money, for he was preparing for war with France, yet Gresham, after great efforts, was able to get Mary all she needed, but he had to pay £4 1*s.* 8*d.* a hundred for it and thought it cheap at that price.[3] Just before Mary's death Gresham was doing business on her behalf, with the City of London's bond as security, through Gaspar Schetz, Lazarus Tucher, Lixalls and others, and he asked the Council to reward these three merchants for the part they had taken by giving a present of a gold chain worth 500 or 600 crowns to the first, and chains worth 300 crowns to the rest.[4]

At the time of her death Mary owed £65,000 in Antwerp as compared with £148,526 5*s.* 8*d.* in 1555. When Elizabeth came to the throne Gresham was immediately dispatched to Antwerp to acknowledge the debts, and by December he was in the town borrowing heavily and buying munitions of war which Elizabeth was to need much more than her predecessor. The floating debt owed in Antwerp by the English Crown at Elizabeth's accession, namely £65,000 sterling, was about $\frac{1}{28}$ of that of the French Crown, and about $\frac{1}{35}$ of that of the Spanish, and both the latter owed much more besides the floating debt.[5] Mary had borrowed from Arte van Dale and the Bonvisi, as well as from Fugger. For a short time Antonio Bonvisi acted as her Antwerp factor, but Gresham was actually in Antwerp during most of her reign.

By December Gresham was borrowing heavily in Antwerp for Elizabeth and doing so much business with Paul van Dale, Lazarus Tucher, Andrew Lixalls, Gilles Housmann, Philip Bone, Christopher Prewne (Pruynen), Sebastian and Christopher Fleckhamer, Balthazar and Conrad Schetz,[6] that in six months he had borrowed £120,000, of which about half was applied to paying off old debts. We must leave Gresham—one of the best servants even Queen Elizabeth could boast of—in the house named *St. Francis* in the Long New Street, then the principal street of Antwerp, which he had just bought from Ruy Mendez, the Portuguese merchant.[7] From Antwerp he continued to fill

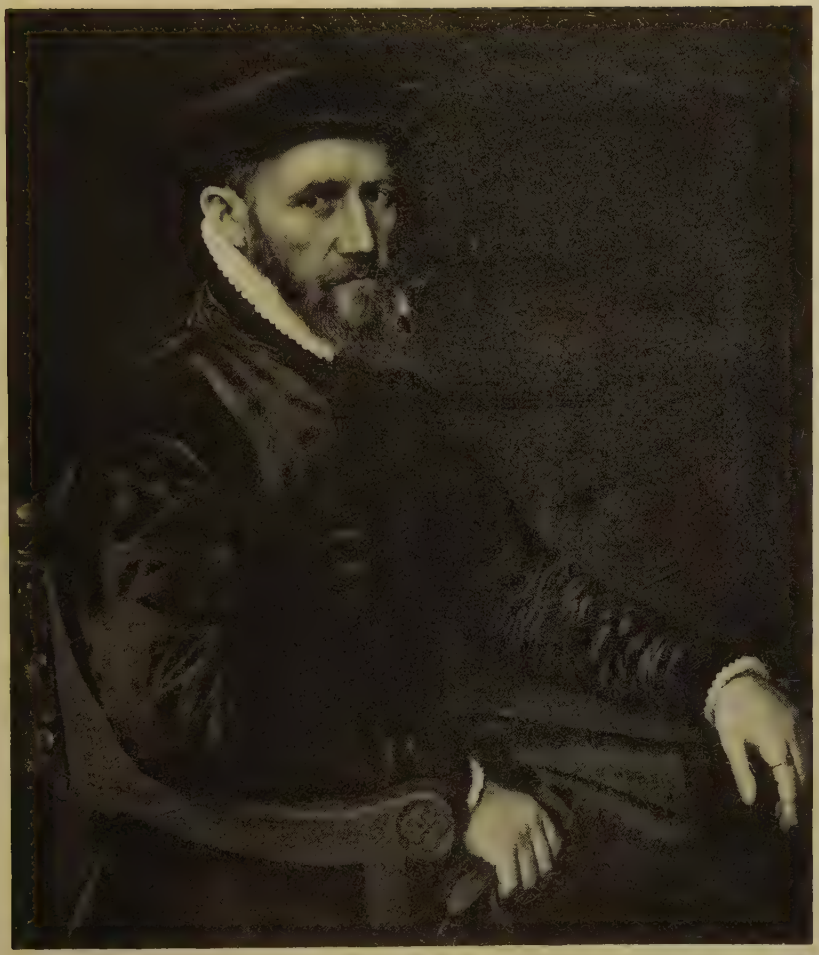
[1] Kervyn, "Relations Politiques," etc., I, 166. [2] Turnbull, Mary, No. 775.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 789. [4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 833, 844.
[5] "Zeitalter der Fugger," II, 172, 173.
[6] Kervyn, "Relations Politiques," etc., I, 326.
[7] "Antwerpsch Archievenblad," II.

the Queen's purse with money and her arsenals with war material. What he and his helpers did for England makes a fascinating story which has been unfolded by Burgon. As for the trade of the English, Wheeler says that he heard merchants say that at this time (namely a little before the troubles of 1563 and 1564) 60,000 souls in the Netherlands or even more lived on the English trade and by the wares brought to the Netherlands to be exported to England.[1] The value of the English cloth fleet which went to Antwerp was quite £300,000 in Mary's reign and even £400,000.[2] The loans made to the King of Portugal remained unpaid for some years, but later he retrieved his position and came for a time to have the best credit in Antwerp after the Queen of England. Eventually, however, the creditors of the Portuguese Crown were involved in utmost loss. Francesco Pesoa became Portuguese factor in 1556.

One word as to maritime insurance. Many swindles had been perpetrated in the transaction of such business while it was in private hands and so official brokers were set up in 1559. Merchants had over-insured and allowed the ships to fall into the hands of pirates, and it was thought that some sort of State control would end irregularities. The risks insured against were usually those from storm, fire, and pirates, and the insurance had usually amounted to a pooling of loss by various owners. At this time the town in the Netherlands which in size and in prosperity ranked next to Antwerp was Amsterdam, for it had already laid a foundation strong enough to bear the amount of commercial prosperity which was transferred to it at the ruin of Antwerp in 1585.

Although the members of the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp were developing genre- and landscape-painting to a degree of excellence which became apparent in the works of the school of that time and of the Dutch school of the next century, neither of these two branches of the art was that in which the best work was done in the very middle of the century. The list of names of those who took part in joustings and banquets which honoured Philip's visits to the town as well as of those who fought in the wars on the French frontier shows that the greatest men in Europe were to be found on Belgian soil. The Court was mostly in the Netherlands and the whole country put on a magnificent aspect for these few years which preceded its sudden reduction to the status of a distant province of Spain. Members of the Royal House, great soldiers, nobles, rich ecclesiastics desired their portraits, and fortunately fine portrait-painters could always be found among the fraternity at Antwerp. Among those who sat to Antonio Moro were many who played a leading part in the history of the time: Philip (Escurial), Mary of England (Prado), Mary of Hungary (Holyrood), Margaret of Parma, (Berlin and Vienna), Anne of Austria (Prado and Vienna),

[1] Wheeler, "Commerce," 24. [2] Turnbull, Mary, Nos. 130, 133.



SIR THOMAS GRESHAM

FROM THE PAINTING BY ANTONIO MORO IN THE HERMITAGE

Alexander Farnese (Parma), the Duke of Alva (Brussels and Spanish Society, New York), William of Orange (Cassel), Cardinal Granvelle (Vienna), Simon Renard (Besançon), Hubert Goltzius, (Brussels), Sir Thomas Gresham (Hermitage), Sir Henry Lee (Ditchley), Antonio de Rio (Louvre).[1]

The natural pride of these persons made them seek the best portrait-painters of the day, and they found some of them on the banks of the Scheldt. True it is that the style of portrait had undergone a change since Jan van Eyck painted his wife and Memling the Moreel family. With Jan Gossart and van Orley had come a more free and natural rendering of the subject than even Quentin Metsys had been able to produce. It was left, however, to the painters of the middle of the century to produce masterpieces of which Rubens and Van Dyck might have been proud. In this branch of their art the painters learnt much beyond the Alps, especially from Titian and other Venetians, and they were able to digest what they learnt and to produce portraits of great beauty.

Moro was not an Antwerper by birth, but was born at Utrecht about 1519, and after studying under van Scorel came to Antwerp and was made free of the Guild of St. Luke in 1547. This was just before the time of Philip's first coming to Antwerp, and the great men in the Provinces patronized the painter. Granvelle took him into his service and he resided at Brussels for a time. He probably painted the portraits of Granvelle and of Alva during this period.

When Charles and Philip went to Augsburg in 1550 Moro went away, no doubt thinking there would not be much for him to do while the Court was absent. He travelled in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and England, returning to the Netherlands at the end of 1554. More of his works are to be found in Spain than anywhere else, and next to that in England. He might be called the fashionable painter of the day and usually painted his subjects holding a pair of gloves, the possession of which was then a sign of wealth and love of elegance. Just after his return to the Netherlands he painted the portrait of Mary of Hungary now at Holyrood and that of the Prince of Orange at Cassel. Moro seems to have resided at Brussels after the abdication of Charles, when the Court was there. He painted Philip in armour just after the Battle of St. Quentin, now in the Escurial, and the superb portrait of Alexander Farnese as a boy, at Parma. He departed in 1559 with Philip to Spain and there painted numerous portraits. His work has been much confused with that of Peter Pourbus and Adrian Key. He returned to Utrecht and later settled in Antwerp—in the days of Alva—where he died in 1576. Moro's subject-pictures were not very good, and he was not at his best when painting women. In his portraits

[1] See Hymans, "Antonio Moro," etc., 1910.

he always sought a simple arrangement and gave great pains to the painting of the face, hands, and ruff. No Flemish painter had rendered hands so beautifully before. He paid great attention to detail, but more in the manner of Rubens than of van Eyck. He could paint a surplice as effectively as Gerard David and he loved to paint damascened armour or embroidery on garments.

Van Mander says that Antwerp was a nurse of the arts in the Provinces as Florence was once in Italy; and surely in no branch of painting was this more true than in portraiture. In a room [1] of the Ducal Gallery at Brunswick are eight portraits of this school which seem to have a message of its greatness. All these are simple portraits of men dressed in dark clothing, and all are of the same size and three-quarter length; five of them do not concern this period, being by Rubens, van Dyck, Cornelis de Vos, and Franz Pourbus. The others are by Moro, Franz Floris, and Adrian Key. That by Moro is a superb picture of a scholar and may be compared with the masterpiece of Floris, named the *Falconer*, which hangs close by. Floris's studio was a school in which the precursors of Rubens studied how best to fit the Italian manner on to the old Flemish style. That they all failed until Rubens came except in portraiture is not surprising, for it needed the greatest artistic powers to produce order out of the chaos which had resulted. Most of the Netherland painters of the next generation—Martin de Vos, Lucas de Heere, Crispin van der Broeck, Martin and Henri van Cleve, Antoine de Montfort, Franz Pourbus, Ambrose and Jerome Francken—studied in Floris's studio, so that it became a crucible in which what he had learnt in Lambert Lombard's school and in Italy, and what he had inherited from van Eyck and Metsys, was made to produce the precious metal which went to compose the famous Flemish painting of the seventeenth century.

Floris or de Vriendt came of one of those artist families for which Antwerp has been remarkable. He was the second son of Claude de Vriendt, an architect, and unlike so many members of the Guild of St. Luke, he was of Antwerp birth. The elder son was Corneille de Vriendt, the famous sculptor and architect of the Town House and the Hanseatic House at Antwerp, the rood-screen at Tournai and the tabernacle at Léau, and the two younger were respectively a coloured-glass-maker and a potter. Born about 1516 Franz was at first a sculptor making chiefly copper figures for tombs in the churches,[2] but when he was twenty he went to Liége and became a pupil of Lambert Lombard, whom Hymans called a Squarcione, for he founded his art on the study of antiquity, as did Bellini's master.[3] Beside Floris the master had William Key and Hubert Goltzius among his pupils. After learning all Lombard had to teach, Floris was inscribed to

[1] Room 29. [2] Van Mander. [3] Hymans; Van Mander, I, p. 210.

the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp (1540), and then went to Italy. He was in Rome in 1541 at the time when Michael Angelo uncovered the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel,[1] and he made studies of them and of Greek sculpture. In a few of his subject-pictures are traces of his Flemish origin, but in the main he was so overwhelmed by Michael Angelo that his work lost the best of such traits.

His best-known work is the *Fall of the Angels* in the Antwerp Gallery, which was painted for the Swordsmen's Chapel in Our Lady's Church in 1554. This picture is entirely inspired by Michael Angelo, but shows the artist a skilful draftsman and powerful designer, though it possesses none of the Flemish characteristics which compel attention to some pictures by inferior painters and is as totally lacking in good colour as it is in beauty. Most of his subject-pictures have the same defects, and after having enjoyed a reputation of which they were scarcely worthy are now finding their way skyward even in the Belgian galleries, and are passed unnoticed in galleries in Germany and Italy. Floris was alive when Guicciardini wrote his notes on Antwerp painters, and the Florentine speaks of him as a painter not to be surpassed this side the Alps in invention and design, and says that it was to his credit that he was the first to bring from Italy the art of expressing the muscles and skin of the human body in a lifelike manner.

Van Mander speaks of him at length and plunges into a sea of anecdote concerning him, all of which is interesting even if exaggerated. The painter's work pleased both artists and connoisseurs and in discourse he showed himself versed in matters touching religion, philosophy, poetry, and all subjects with which a cultivated man might be expected to be familiar. He became wealthy and his studio was visited by princes and nobles—Orange, Egmont, and Horn. His success, however, in the art he loved was clouded by his devotion to excessive drinking. He rose to the unhappy position of a Titan in this truly Flemish failing. Van Mander describes him as being as famous as a drinker as he was as a painter. Dierick Volckaertz Coornhert of Amsterdam, the poet, sent him a poem recounting how the venerable Albert Dürer had appeared to him in a dream and had praised Floris as a painter but had severely reproved his manner of life. Perhaps Floris was encouraged in this frailty by the visits of admiring nobles and perhaps he was driven to it by the nagging of his wife, Clara Boudewijns. She with some reason objected to her husband's visitors, but going further, made his life a burden to him until he left his beautiful house on the Meer Place, which she disliked, and which she said was made untenable by a smoking chimney, and made him build another in the

[1] Wauters, "La Peinture Flamande."

present Arenberg Street designed by his brother Corneille. This new house was one of the most magnificent in Antwerp, having in the façade pillars of blue stone carved in classical style. This sumptuous palace swallowed up not only the price for which the other had been sold, but also a sum of money which Schetz was holding for Floris. He neglected his work and being of a kind and generous disposition was surrounded by sponges and parasites. His brother Jacob, the glass-colourer, was among these, being, as Van Mander says, fond of drinking so long as he did not have to pay for it, and his constant presence at the house often aroused Dame Clara's anger, but his greediness for food and drink made him proof against her abuse. At one time Floris had an income of at least 1,000 florins a year, but in the end he had only debts, for he lost the power of applying himself to his work and of abandoning the society of the worshippers of Bacchus.

His renown as a drinker brought against him one day six topers from Brussels, jealous of his fame and anxious to test his powers. By the middle of the bout three of his opponents were out of action. The other three kept good pace with him until he produced a large German drinking-bowl and by this floored two of them. The last remaining challenger had to cry halt at last. He was able, however, to walk with Floris to the inn where the latter's horse was baited. There several of his pupils awaited the painter, who, to show his steadiness and to prove the easiness of his triumph, called for another pot of wine, and standing on one foot emptied it at a draught, and then mounting his horse rode home. When he was being entertained by the Dean and thirty members of the Cloth-dressers' Guild he drank sixty times to the two of each of them in the challenging. He told this himself to his pupils as he undressed to go to bed. Two of his pupils always sat up to help him undress. He was devoted to his art, and sometimes he would come into the studio more than half drunk and take his brush and paint energetically for a long time. He died in 1570. No doubt his drinking habits prevented his producing works of great beauty, but he could never have been a Rubens. In portrait-painting, however, he turned his Flemish birthright to the best account. The so-called *Falconer* at Brunswick is one of the finest portraits painted by the whole Flemish School and it is certainly the painter's masterpiece, but here and there may be found other good portraits by him.

William Key of Breda, again, was deemed an admirable portrait-painter in his day, though not as good as his nephew Adrian. He became free of the Guild in 1542 and lived in a fine house in the best part of the town—near the Bourse in the Short Street of the Clara Sisters. He was of so reverend an appearance that he seemed more like a councillor than an artist. He had been Floris's fellow-pupil in Lombard's studio. His best

pictures were destroyed by the Spaniards and the Iconoclasts before the close of the century. Granvelle sat to him in his cardinal's robe and he also painted Alva. Van Mander narrates that the latter talked before him with a member of the Blood-Council, thinking he could not understand Spanish, and that he learnt from the conversation that the sentence pronounced against Egmont and Horn was to be carried out, and that the news so disturbed him that he went home to die on the very day the two nobles mounted the scaffold. His portraits have no doubt been much confused with those by Moro. The portrait of Alva in the Brussels Gallery usually assigned to Moro may be the one referred to in the above story, and some give Key also the portrait of the Prince of Orange at Cassel.

Peter Pourbus of Gouda did most of his life's work at Bruges, but he seems to have come to Antwerp in 1544 and to have painted the portraits of Gilbert van Schoonbeke and his wife which now hang in the Antwerp Gallery,[1] and he got other commissions there from time to time.

Another portrait-painter of remarkable power was Nieucastel or Lucidel, who became a pupil of Peter Coecke in 1539. He does not seem to have become free of the Guild. His works are in various galleries, the best known being the oft-repeated portrait of a lady of which there is a version in the National Gallery, and the portrait of the mathematician Jean Neudorfer and his son—a splendid portrait-picture—of which there are versions at Munich and Lille. In the group the painter has succeeded in giving most wonderfully an air of abstraction to the man, as he makes careful measurement with his compasses. These were days in which most men at Antwerp wore and were painted in black or dark garments.

Several women-painters achieved fame in Antwerp, and Catherine van Hemessen, the daughter of Jan, was a portrait-painter whose work can be judged from the small portraits in the National Gallery and at Budapest. She entered the service of Mary of Hungary and retired with her to Spain at the end of her Regency.

Peter Brueghel can hardly be classed with the portrait-painters, but had he not possessed a full portion of native genius which led him along the path to the fuller development of genre-painting, he would perhaps have turned his thoughts in that direction. His powers appear in the portrait of a "Country-man" in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, in which the detail of van Eyck—as in the painting of the hooks and eyes on the collar of his parti-coloured garment—is developed and improved to the furthest point it could attain without becoming something entirely new. But Brueghel—the greatest painter of his day in the North—hardly comes into this period; he entered Peter

[1] The attribution to Pourbus is uncertain.

Coecke's studio about 1540, and went thence to that of Jerome Cock, became free of the Guild in 1551, and then went to Italy. Although he was back at Antwerp in 1553 he did not reach his greatest fame until the religious troubles had burst upon the country, and their influence on his work stamps it as of the middle of the reign of Philip. His earliest dated picture is of 1558, and he only began his great works after his marriage and removal to Brussels in 1563.

Quentin Metsys, Franz Floris, and Peter Brueghel were regarded as the three great Antwerp painters of the sixteenth century. Brueghel's second master, Jerome Cock, seems to have left no pictures behind him, but he had a reputation as a landscape-painter and was a good etcher and publisher, selling all kinds of engravings at his shop, *The Four Winds*, near the New Bourse. He published engravings of the works of his contemporaries and his predecessors, particularly of Jerome Bosch. He became free of the Guild of St. Luke in 1546 as the son of a member. His shop was more famous for its general stock of prints than for specimens of his own work and he was not a great artist.

The book-printers of the time more than maintained the prestige of earlier generations. Franz Fraet, the printer who was beheaded in 1557, was received into the Guild of St. Luke in 1552. The famous Christopher Plantin came to Antwerp from France in 1549 and became free of the Guild in 1550. He had set up a book-shop in the Street of the Twelve Months, near the Bourse, and there his wife, Jeannie Rivière, brought grist to the mill by selling linen. As prosperity came to him he moved into larger premises, in due time setting up a printing-press, and in 1555 he printed his first book. In 1557 he moved into the *Golden Unicorn* in Brewers' Street, the name of which he changed to *Golden Compasses* in 1561. None of his best work was done until in 1578 he went into the house on the Friday Market which is to be seen to-day.

No great architectural works were completed during the first five years of Philip's reign, but Cornelis de Vriendt was establishing a reputation which resulted in his being entrusted with the planning of the new Town House, the first stone of which was laid in February 1560. The Italian Renaissance had now completely captured the minds of the architects and all de Vriendt's work was in that style. The old Gothic Town House was left standing until 1564. The Guild House of the Crossbowmen in the Market Place was built about this time.

Guicciardini draws attention to the Belgians' love of music, acclaiming them the revivers of the art. Anthony Barbé was still music-master at Our Lady's and under him the school had reached a point of excellence unknown till then. In 1554 settled in Antwerp Roland de Lassus of Mons, who had acquired a

European reputation. Soon, however, he went to Munich to enter the service of the Duke of Bavaria.[1] Some of the best masters and singers of the chapels and courts in foreign lands were drawn from Antwerp.

As we have seen, the victory over the French at St. Quentin fell to Philip in August 1557, and the Duke of Guise hastened home from Italy and seized Calais from the English at the end of the first week in the following year. The loss of this last foothold of the English on the Continent, together with the fact that since Philip and Mary's marriage the two countries had been entirely in accord, seemed to promise that English merchants would henceforth make the fullest use of Netherland towns. The accession of Elizabeth, however, and the hostility into which she and Philip fell, quickly blighted all such hopes. Indeed as early as the next year some anxiety became apparent, even in the mind of Margaret of Parma, who had become Regent in 1559, that the absence of the English might induce the German merchants to retire from Antwerp to Hamburg or Emden. In 1558 a further inducement was offered to the English to be satisfied with their treatment in the grant to them by the town of the House of Lierre in Prince's Street.

Whatever chagrin Philip may have felt at the loss of Calais by the English was assuaged by his victory at Gravelines in July 1558. Negotiations for peace were opened although hostilities did not cease, and Mary was dead before the deliberations were concluded. When the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis was published in Antwerp on the 7th of April, there were great rejoicings, for it was anticipated that a marriage between Philip and one of the French princesses would assure amity between the two nations. The great bell played, the Tower of Our Lady's was hung with lamps, prizes were put up for competitions, arches were set up, bonfires were lighted, wine flowed freely, and among the novelties introduced were greasy poles (the falls of those trying to get the prize at the top provoking much laughter), while blindfolded men hunted pigs and women ran races. Among the foreign merchants who took part in these celebrations were the English, but very little reflection shows their joy must have been assumed if they felt their prosperity depended on peace between England and the Netherlands. When the negotiations which led up to the Treaty were opened, Philip had been the husband of the English Queen and the restoration of Calais to the English had been one of the objects Philip's commissioners kept in view. When the Treaty was signed Mary was dead and Elizabeth was on the English throne, and all talk of such restoration was forgotten, so that with the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis the long amity which had existed between England and the House of

[1] "Biographie Nationale de Belgique."

Burgundy came to an end. Her championship of the Protestant cause threw Elizabeth into stronger opposition to Philip, but she became at the same time the idol of the supporters of the new doctrines among the merchants and citizens at Antwerp.

Many in the provinces, like Pontus Payen, hailed the Treaty as the harbinger of a Golden Age, and poets sang of the closing of the doors of the Temple of Janus, foretelling that, since Mars was enchained and the Furies put to flight, Rhetoric and Music would join hands for the solace of the Provinces.[1]

The exhausted condition of Philip's treasury had made him anxious to end war with France and devote himself to combating Islam in the Mediterranean and Protestantism in his own dominions. The crushing of the latter seemed to him vital to the safety of his throne, and in his resolve he had the sympathy of the Pope. He had formed the opinion that the interest of the State was so bound up with the maintenance of the religion that neither the authority of princes nor concord between subjects, nor the public peace could exist if two religions lived side by side in one country. Both he and Henry II had the crushing of heresy in their minds when they signed the Treaty and both were actuated rather by fear of a revolt than by any anxiety for the souls of their subjects. Neither could contemplate with equanimity a complete alteration in established institutions, knowing well the effect it would have in men's attitude towards the State. Indeed the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis was regarded by them rather as a league for the suppression of Calvinism and other heresy than as a mere cessation of war. The means adopted by the two monarchs to attain these ends form the history of the Revolt of the Netherlands and of the Huguenot Wars in France, while the measures applied to Antwerp and the resistance offered to them by the Magistrates and the inhabitants make memorable the period of the decline of Antwerp from the prosperity in which she was in 1559 to her ruined condition after the siege by Parma in 1585.

The completion of the new Town House in 1565, followed soon by that of the Houses of the Hanseatic and of the Hessian merchants, witnesses to the wealth and importance of the town, while the opening of the great canal in 1561 connecting Antwerp with Brussels seemed to hold out great hopes for the future. In this year, too, a Landjewel was held in the town which outshone all the splendid festivals ever spoken of in the Netherlands. No doubt many realized what was in store, and Sir Thomas Challoner, writing to Cecil from Brussels in January 1560 of the marriage feast of Philip and Isabella, the French Princess whom the Treaty gave to him, says, " Th' inquisition like the hangman shall shutte up the tayle of the feeste with more than hundred carbonades." [2]

[1] L. de Baecker, " Chants Historiques de la Flandre," p. 275.
[2] Kervyn, " Relations Politiques," etc., II, 206.

IMPORTANT DATES

1477 The death of Charles the Bold at Nancy.
The " Quaey Wereld."
The marriage of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy.
War with France.
Joyous Entry of Mary.
1479 News of the victory at Guinegate arrived.
Hans Memling was busy at Bruges.
1480 Great dearth began, with plagues and storms.
The " Violet " took its name.
The year ended with a terrible winter.
1481 The murder of Jan of Dadizeele.
1482 Death of Mary of Burgundy.
The Treaty of Arras.
The first book printed in Antwerp.
The death of Hugo Van der Goes.
1483 Death of Edward IV.
Maximilian arrested the Antwerp Magistrates.
Death of Louis XI.
1484 Maximilian made war on the Flemish towns.
1485 Kloppersdyke Fort taken on St. George's Day.
The Flemish towns submitted to Maximilian.
Battle of Bosworth Field.
Gerard Leeu free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
From about this time Antwerp flourished as never before.
1486 Maximilian crowned King of the Romans.
Another war with France.
The Hochstetters bought a house at Antwerp.
1487 About 29,000 pieces of English cloth were sent to the Whitsuntide Fair.
Another outbreak in Flanders.
The Guild of Swordsmen formed.
1488 Maximilian transferred all commerce from Bruges to Antwerp.
The " Flanders Galleys " came to Antwerp.
1489 Peace with France.
The coinage debased.
The Guild of Arquebusiers formed.
1491 The long wars with Guelders began.
Quentin Metsys admitted free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
The Tower of St. James's Church begun.
1492 Ferdinand and Isabella entered Granada.
The New World discovered.
The Treaty of Cadzant and the submission of the Flemish towns.

1493 The Peace of Senlis.
Trade with England broken off on account of support given to Perkin Warbeck by Maximilian and Margaret of York.
Thierry Martens printed his first book at Antwerp.
1494 Philip the Fair inaugurated at Antwerp.
Charles VIII invaded Italy.
Death of Hans Memling.
1496 Intercursus Magnus.
Marriage of Philip and Joanna of Castile.
1497 Cape of Good Hope rounded by the Portuguese.
1498 Death of Charles VIII.
A Shooting Festival at Ghent.
The Portuguese found the Islands of Calicut.
1500 The birth of Charles V.
1501 A Shooting Festival at Antwerp.
1502 A Commercial Agreement with England.
1503 Julius II became Pope.
The Butchers' Hall finished.
Jan Gossart de Mabuse free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
Death of Herman de Waghemakere.
1504 Death of Isabella of Castile.
Great abundance in Antwerp.
1505 The great spice venture.
According to Quirini, Antwerp had by now as much trade as all the rest of the Netherlands put together.
1506 Intercursus Malus.
Death of Philip.
1507 Margaret of Austria received at Antwerp as Vice-Regent.
Fresh outbreak of war with Guelders.
A Commercial Agreement with England.
The Frescobaldi bought a piece of land.
The choir of St. James's Church finished.
1508 The Fuggers bought a house.
Great misery in the town caused by the war.
Maximilian was received at Antwerp as Regent for Charles.
In December the League of Cambrai ended the war with Guelders.
1509 Henry VIII King of England.
An Accord signed with the English merchants.
The Welsers bought a house.
On the 27th of June rejoicings over the defeat of the Venetians at Agnadello.
Quentin Metsys finished the *Legend of St. Anne* (in the Brussels Gallery).
1510 Dominic de Waghemakere became Dean of the Guild of the Four Crowned Saints.
Ægidius became Secretary to the town.
1511 Quentin Metsys finished the *Entombment* (in the Antwerp Gallery).
Josse of Cleves admitted free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
Holy League formed.
A house given to the Portuguese.
Dierick van Paesschen's first voyage to Palestine.
1513 Leo X became Pope.

1513 The Augustinian monks settled in the town.
1515 Charles declared of age.
In February Charles made his Joyous Entry.
The "Violet" won prizes at Mechlin.
The Bourse rebuilt.
Patinir free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
Josse of Cleves painted the *Death of the Virgin*.
Death of Louis XII.
Battle of Marignano.
1516 Death of Ferdinand of Aragon.
Treaty of Noyon.
Commercial treaty with England.
The first Flemish Bible printed at Antwerp.
1517 Charles went to Spain.
Luther began his agitation.
Quentin Metsys painted portraits of Erasmus and Ægidius.
1518 The Tower of the great church finished.
Luther's works in great demand in Antwerp.
Accord with the English merchants.
1519 Death of Maximilian. Charles elected King of the Romans.
The Augustinians declared themselves in favour of Luther.
Good harvest and great plenty in Antwerp.
Josse of Cleves dean of the Guild of St. Luke.
1520 A Commercial Treaty with England.
On the 23rd of September Charles entered Antwerp on his way to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.
Albert Dürer arrived at Antwerp.
Luther burnt the Papal Bull.
The Steen reconstructed.
1521 Outbreak of war with France.
The first Placard against heresy.
Edict of Wurms applied to the Netherlands.
Luther's books burnt at Antwerp.
Charles laid the foundation-stone of the "New Work" at the great church.
Lucas of Leyden arrived at Antwerp.
1522 Adrian VI became Pope.
Commissioners or Inquisitors appointed for the Netherlands.
The Augustinian monks expelled.
Graphæus forced to do a penance.
Luther's books burnt at Antwerp for the second time.
Lack of bread.
1523 The first two martyrs burnt at Brussels.
An ambassador arrived from Persia.
Death of Gerard David.
1524 The Peasants War began.
An ambassador arrived from Russia.
Death of Patinir.
Jan van Hemessen free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1525 Battle of Pavia.
Image-breaking began at Antwerp.
A monk drowned at Antwerp for preaching Luther's doctrines.
Loy appeared for the first time.

1525 Treaty between France and England.
Josse of Cleves again dean of the Guild.
1526 Treaty of Madrid, followed by the League of Cognac.
Castle of Milan taken by the Imperialists.
Battle of Mohacz.
Loy did penance.
1527 Sack of Rome.
Alliance between Henry VIII and Francis I.
On the 8th of June the great bell played in honour of the birth of Philip II.
Peter Coecke free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1528 Truce of Hampton Court with Henry VIII.
Treaty of Gorcum ended Guelders war.
First edition of Anna Bijns' works published.
1529 Treaty of Cambrai.
The Sweating Sickness.
A more severe Placard published.
1530 Charles' Coronation at Bologna.
Death of Quentin Metsys.
Death of Margaret of Austria.
A great flood.
1531 October, Mary of Hungary inaugurated at Brussels.
Another severe Placard.
Death of Rombaut Keldermans.
Great distress: the Sound closed.
The first laymen put to death at Antwerp for their Lutheran opinions.
The New Bourse begun.
The Guild House of the Masons erected, viz. the first building in the style of the Renaissance.
1532 The suppression of the New Christians begun.
Mary of Hungary paid her first visit to Antwerp
A great flood.
1533 A fire at the Church of Our Lady.
The Treaty of Ghent.
Henry married Anne Boleyn.
Death of Ægidius.
1534 Münster seized by the Anabaptists.
1535 On the 17th of February the first Anabaptist was executed at Antwerp.
Münster re-taken by the Bishop.
William Tyndale arrested at Antwerp.
The expedition against Tunis.
Death of Francesco Sforza.
Peter Aertszen free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1536 War with France.
The Sound closed.
The Peace of Gavre.
1537 Treaty of Brussels—with Denmark.
Treaty of Bomy—with France, followed by that of Monçon.
Peter Coecke dean of the Guild of St. Luke.
1538 Truce of Nice, between Charles V and Francis I.
Death of Charles of Egmont.

1539 Landjewel at Ghent.
Tumults at Antwerp and Ghent.
In December Anne of Cleves came to Antwerp on her way to England.
1540 Charles issued another Placard.
Charles punished Ghent.
Death of Josse of Cleves.
Franz Floris free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1541 A fire consumed the Cloth Hall and other buildings on the Market Place.
Charles sailed against Algiers.
Treaty of Fontainebleau, formed by Francis against Charles.
1542 War with France and her allies.
Marten van Rossem appeared before the walls of Antwerp.
Death of Dominic de Waghemakere.
The new fortifications and the rebuilding begun.
William Key free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1543 Treaty of London.
Invasion of Guelders.
Treaty of Venloo (end of war with Guelders).
1544 Treaty of Spire.
Peace of Crespy.
Loy burnt alive.
1545 Charles and the Duke of Orleans at Antwerp.
Charles rode through the new St. George's Gate.
A very dry summer.
The first Calvinist executed in the Netherlands.
The Hansa moved from Bruges to Antwerp.
Peter Huys free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1546 The War of Smalcald begun.
The Sound closed.
Great dearth and scarcity.
Peace between England and France.
1547 Death of Henry VIII and of Francis I.
On the 10th of May was held a Procession on account of the Catholic victory at Mühlberg.
Franz Floris dean of the Guild of St. Luke.
Antonio Moro free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1548 Diet of Augsburg.
Jan van Hemessen dean of the Guild of St. Luke.
1549 Philip II came to Antwerp.
1550 A Placard issued actually mentioning Inquisitors.
Death of Peter Coecke.
Christopher Plantin free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1551 Another war with France begun.
Murder of Deodati.
Old Brueghel free-master of the Guild of St. Luke.
1552 Two great floods.
Treaty of Passau.
Siege of Metz.
1553 Death of Edward VI.
1554 Great distress.
A Calvinist Congregation established in Antwerp.

1554 The van Schoonbeke riots.
Marriage of Philip and Mary.
Franz Floris painted the *Fall of the Angels* (in the Antwerp Gallery).
1555 The Abdication of Charles V.
1556 Philip held a Chapter of the Golden Fleece at Antwerp.
Truce of Vaucelles.
Great scarcity.
1557 Fresh hostilities with France.
Battle of Saint Quentin.
1558 Calais taken from the English.
Battle of Gravelines.
Death of Charles V.
The House of Lierre given to the English merchants.
1559 Margaret of Parma became Regent.
The Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis published in Antwerp on the 7th of April.

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